Marygrove College Library 8425 West McNithols Road Detroit, MI 48221 SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW-

SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Michael R. Sosin, Editor Susan J. Lambert, Interim Editor Nausicaa Renner, Managing Editor

Edited by the Faculty of the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago:

Scott W. Allard Jennifer L. Bellamy William Borden Alida Bouris Evelyn Z. Brodkin E. Summerson Carr Robert J. Chaskin Yoonsun Choi Mark E. Courtney Matthew W. Epperson Robert Fairbanks II Roberto G. Gonzales Deborah Gorman-Smith Colleen Grogan Neil B. Guterman Sydney Hans Julia R. Henly Heather D. Hill

Leyla Ismayilova Waldo E. Johnson Jr. Susan Lambert Jens Ludwig Jeanne C. Marsh Stanley McCracken J. Curtis McMillen Jennifer E. Mosley Virginia Parks Charles M. Payne Harold Pollack Melissa Roderick Tina Rzepnicki Gina M. Samuels William Sites Dexter Voisin Miwa Yasui Marci Ybarra

Social Service Review (ISSN 0037-7961) is published quarterly (in March, June, September, and December) by the University of Chicago Press, 1427 East 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637-2954. Periodicals postage paid at Chicago, Illinois, and additional mailing offices. Individual subscription rates for 2013: \$58 print + electronic, \$54 printonly, \$52 e-only. Institutional print + electronic and e-only subscriptions are available through JSTOR's Current Scholarship Program and include unlimited online access; rates are tiered according to an institution's type and research output: \$223 to \$446 (print + electronic), \$190 to \$379 (e-only). Institutional print-only is \$223. For additional rates, including single-copy rates and reduced rates for students, University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration alumni, and members of certain organizations, please visit www.journals.uchicago.edu /SSR. Additional taxes and/or postage for non-US subscriptions may apply. Free or deeply discounted access is available in most developing nations through the Chicago Emerging Nations Initiative (www.journals.uchicago .edu/ceni/). Please direct subscription inquiries, back-issue requests, and address changes to The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637. Telephone: 773-753-3347 or toll-free in the United States and Canada 877-705-1878; fax: 773-753-0811 or toll-free 877-705-1879; e-mail: subscriptions@press .uchicago.edu. Editorial correspondence should be addressed to the Editor, Social Service Review, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, 969 East 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637. E-mail: ssr@uchicago.edu. The Social Service Review home page on the World Wide Web is found at http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/SSR.

Postmaster: Send address changes to Social Service Review, University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637.

Advertising space in the Social Service Review is available, as is rental of its subscriber list. For information and rates, please contact the advertising sales staff, the University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, 1427 East 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637. Advertising and list rental are limited to material of scholarly interest to our subscribers.

Permissions: Articles may be copied or otherwise reused without permission only to the extent permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the US Copyright Law. Permission to copy articles for personal, internal, classroom, or library use may be obtained from the Copyright Clearance Center (http://www.copyright.com). For all other uses, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale, please contact Permissions Coordinator, Journals Division, University of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637 USA. Fax: 773-834-3489. E-mail: journalpermissions@press.uchicago.edu. Articles in the public domain may be used without permission, but it is customary to contact the author.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984. ∞

Volume 87

No. 2

June 2013

What Kids Get from Parents: Packages of Parental Involvement across Complex Family Forms

MARCIA J. CARLSON AND LAWRENCE M. BERGER | 213

Rising Extreme Poverty in the United States and the Response of Federal Means-Tested Transfer Programs

H. LUKE SHAEFER AND KATHRYN EDIN | 250

Social Inequality in a Bonded Community: Community Ties and Villager Resistance in a Chinese Township

HAIJING DAI | 269

The Responsibilities of the Poor: Performing Neoliberal Citizenship within the Bureaucratic Field

ANDREW WOOLFORD AND AMANDA NELUND | 292

Inequality in the Spatial Allocation of Social Services: Government Contracts to Nonprofit Organizations in New York City

NICOLE P. MARWELL AND AARON GULLICKSON | 319

Changes in Meal Participation, Attendance, and Test Scores Associated with the Availability of Universal Free School Breakfasts

DAVID C. RIBAR AND LAUREN A. HALDEMAN | 354

BOOK REVIEWS

TIMOTHY M. SMEEDING, ROBERT ERIKSON, AND MARKUS JANTTI, EDS., Persistence, Privilege, and Parenting: The Comparative Study of Intergenerational Mobility Patrick Sharkey | 386

LAURA BRIGGS, Somebody's Children: The Politics of Transracial and Transnational Adoption Ruth McRoy | 391

ANA Y. RAMOS-ZAYAS, Street Therapists: Race, Affect, and Neoliberal Personhood in Latino Newark | Joseph A. Rodriguez | 397

CHRISTOPHER KLEMEK, The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal:
Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin Robert Chaskin | 402

AXEL R. SCHÄFER, Piety and Public Funding: Evangelicals and the State in Modern America Robert J. Wineburg | 407

BRIEF NOTICES | 412

ERRATUM | 414

SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

EXTERNAL REVIEW BOARD

Richard P. Barth

University of Maryland

Lawrence M. Berger

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Jill Duerr Berrick

University of California, Berkeley

Amy Butler

University of Iowa

Ram A. Cnaan

University of Pennsylvania

Carol Coohey

University of Iowa

Dennis P. Culhane

University of Pennsylvania

Sheldon Danziger

University of Michigan

Jeffrey Draine

Temple University

Nabila El-Bassel

Columbia University

Ronald A. Feldman

Columbia University

Robert Fisher

University of Connecticut

Anne E. Fortune

University at Albany, State University of New York

Sarah J. Gehlert

Washington University in St. Louis

Charles Glisson

University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Kirsten Grønbjerg

Indiana University

Shenyang Guo

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Yeheskel Hasenfeld

University of California, Los Angeles

Robert B. Hudson

Boston University

Rosalie A. Kane

University of Minnesota

Stuart A. Kirk

University of California, Los Angeles

Paul Koegel

RAND Corporation

Leslie Leighninger

Arizona State University

Taryn Lindhorst

University of Washington

Daniel R. Meyer

University of Wisconsin-Madison

James Midgley

University of California, Berkeley

Michàlle Mor Barak

University of Southern California

Edward J. Mullen

Columbia University

William R. Nugent

University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Daphna Ovserman

University of Michigan

Yoosun Park

Smith College

Frederic G. Reamer

Rhode Island College

David A. Reingold

Indiana University

Rosemary Sarri

University of Michigan

Sanford F. Schram

Bryn Mawr College

David Takeuchi

University of Washington

David S. Tanenhaus

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Jane Waldfogel

Columbia University

Kathleen Wells

Case Western Reserve University

James K. Whittaker

University of Washington

Yin-Ling Irene Wong

University of Pennsylvania

What Kids Get from Parents: Packages of Parental Involvement across Complex Family Forms

MARCIA J. CARLSON AND LAWRENCE M. BERGER University of Wisconsin–Madison

ABSTRACT While demographers continue to document the notable changes in family structure that have occurred in recent decades, little is known about the quality of parental investment that children receive across a range of contemporary family types. Employing data from a recent US urban birth cohort, we examine parental investment for children ages 1, 3, and 5 in two key domains: parent-child engagement (across three potential parent figures) and access to economic resources. Overall, we find that children living with their married biological parents are advantaged in both parental engagement and household income, while children living in other family types are less advantaged in one or both domains. Our research illuminates how changing family demography is related to parental investments in children, which has implications for public policies designed to support low-income families.

Along with the weakening association between marriage and childbearing in recent decades, the prevalence of complex families, defined as those families with other than two (married) biological parents and only their mutual children, has increased. The divorce rate rose dramatically in the 1960s and 1970s, and although it has declined since that time, about one-third of first marriages that took place from the 1970s to the 1990s ended in divorce within 10 years (Martin 2006). At the same time, the fraction of births that occur outside of marriage has steadily risen since the 1960s, such that today 41 percent of all births (including 53 percent of Hispanic and 73 percent of African American births) are nonmarital (Hamilton, Martin, and Ventura 2011). Furthermore, ongoing fertility paired with union instability implies that many adults today (will) have children with more than one partner, so-called multi-partnered fertility (MPF). In turn, many children (will) have half- or step-siblings or live with a partner of one of their

Social Service Review (June 2013). © 2013 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved. 0037-7961/2013/8702-0001\$10.00

biological parents to whom they are not biologically related. Taken together, these demographic patterns suggest that a minority of children born in recent cohorts will spend their entire childhood living with only their married biological parents and full siblings. This is particularly true among disadvantaged groups, and especially for children born outside of marriage, who in turn are typically born to parents who are young, have low levels of education, and a high likelihood of family instability (McLanahan 2011).

While family demographers continue to document the notable changes in marriage and fertility and the resulting family instability, the nature of family functioning across increasingly diverse family forms is not as well understood. In particular, although the rearing and socialization of children remains a fundamental responsibility of parents and families, little is known about the level and quality of parental investment that children receive across the range of contemporary family types. This article uses data from a late 1990s urban birth cohort to examine the package of parental involvement that 5-year-old children receive across a range of family types in two key domains: parent-child engagement in activities and access to economic resources. First, we describe the prevalence of family types that children experience at approximately age 5. Second, measures of a range of parent-child activities (e.g., reading, watching TV or video, outings) are used to examine the total amount of parental involvement that children receive across family structures by aggregating reported parent-child interaction with the child's biological mother, biological father, and, if present, a resident social father (i.e., cohabiting partner or spouse of the biological mother). This study also looks at differences in levels of income across children's households, given the importance of economic resources for child development. Third, we evaluate the change in parental investment across ages 1-5 of their child(ren), considering whether family structure changes or remains stable over this time period. We focus on parental engagement through age 5 of a child, since the type of parenting behaviors collected in the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS), from which our data are drawn, may be more important during early childhood than during later developmental periods, as children's social worlds become less centered on the family (Eccles 1999).1

^{1.} We also test the robustness of our results using the limited number of parental engagement items available at child age 9. Unfortunately, however, these measures use a different response scale and cannot be directly compared to measures at earlier ages. We briefly describe these estimates in the Results section.

This article provides new descriptive information about the level of parental interaction that children receive across the full set of parental figures in their lives (resident and nonresident biological parents and resident social parents), as well as the total amount of family income potentially available for their care. The findings shed light on the consequences of changing family demography for parental investments in children and may thereby have implications for public policies designed to support disadvantaged children in diverse family circumstances.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Our research is guided by recognition of the fundamental importance of parental investments in children's health, development, and well-being (Maccoby and Martin 1983; Collins et al. 2000; Maccoby 2000; Bornstein 2006). After children are born, parents contribute to their well-being in two key ways: engagement (time) and economic resources (money; Thomson, Hanson, and McLanahan 1994). Although there is no commonly accepted definition or threshold to evaluate parenting, high-quality parenting can generally be described as combining parental warmth (such as being responsive, affectionate, nurturing, and supportive) with appropriate control and discipline that are intrinsic to "authoritative" parenting (Baumrind 1968), as well as teaching children information and skills in a productive and positive manner (Brooks-Gunn and Markman 2005). An extensive body of research shows that, compared to children raised by authoritarian or permissive parents, young children and adolescents raised by authoritative parents exhibit higher levels of self-esteem and less depression and anxiety. They are also less likely to engage in antisocial behavior such as delinquency and substance use (Steinberg 2001). Economic resources are also important, as they enable parents to purchase the necessary material goods and services (such as medical care, high-quality child care and schooling, and books and toys) that improve developmental processes and enhance well-being (Berger, Paxson, and Waldfogel 2009). Finally, it is important to note that economic resources and parenting are linked: greater economic resources are associated with higher-quality caregiving environments and may reduce parents' psychological distress and the harshness of their parenting (McLoyd 1998).

Family structure matters for children's well-being because different types of families are able to provide varying levels of parental and economic resources. Overall, biological ties and legal marriage are associated with greater investment in children. This may be because biological parents have greater incentive to invest in their children than others (evolutionary theory), because the institution of marriage encourages better parenting (social role theory), or because there are preexisting differences between individuals who select into particular family types (social selection; Gibson-Davis 2008). When family structure changes over time, investments of parental resources likely also change.

Prior studies describing parenting across family types fall into three main areas. First, an extensive literature on family structure and child well-being focuses on parental behavior and economic well-being as two mechanisms accounting for how family structure affects children. These studies describe the levels of parenting and economic resources that children receive across family structures but typically consider only a small number of family types and often exclude the contributions of social parents. Second, there are a number of recent studies focused particularly on the behavior of fathers and father figures across family types. Third, studies of parental time use document the level and change in time that mothers and fathers (and sometimes other actors) spend with children.

FAMILY STRUCTURE, PARENTING, AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Studies examining the relationship among family structure, parenting, and economic resources typically describe parenting and economic resources as the primary mediators (mechanisms) through which family structure affects children and youth. A number of studies show that children in singleparent families experience lower levels of parental support, supervision and monitoring, and less consistent discipline than children in two-biologicalparent families (Dornbusch et al. 1985; Astone and McLanahan 1991; Thomson, Hanson, and McLanahan 1994). Also, single-mother families (both divorced and never married) have considerably lower incomes, on average, than two-biological-parent families. According to US Census data, in 2006, average family cash income for married couples with children was \$89,096, compared to only \$28,865 for single-mother families with children (US House of Representatives 2008). Furthermore, married fathers have higher earnings than unmarried fathers (Mincy, Hill, and Sinkewicz 2009). In turn. some studies show that economic resources account for about half of the difference in outcomes between children living in two-biological-parent versus single-parent families (McLanahan and Sandefur 1994).

Whereas earlier family structure studies largely focus on single-parent families as opposed to those with two biological parents, more recent studies increasingly consider married and cohabiting social-father families, finding that the economic resources in these families fall somewhere between those of married biological-parent families and single-parent families (Manning and Lichter 1996; Manning and Brown 2006). At the same time, most prior research suggests that social-father families exhibit lower levels of parental engagement than two-biological-parent families, largely because social fathers are less involved with children than biological fathers (Hofferth and Anderson 2003). However, there is also some evidence that maternal parenting quality may also decline when mothers repartner (Berger 2007).

Multi-partnered fertility introduces further complexity to family life and may diminish the quantity and quality of resources provided to children (Tach, Mincy, and Edin 2010). Amid the challenges of rearing children in common, parents with children from former relationships face additional stresses associated with coordinating the parenting of such children across more than one household (assuming the other parent is involved) or of being the sole biological parent in the child's life (if the other parent is not involved). Since resources are finite, time and money investments in previous children necessarily yield diminished investment in the current family. Nonresident fathers who have children by a new partner visit their children from a previous union less frequently and provide lower levels of economic support than they did before they had new children—and as compared to fathers with simple family configurations (Manning and Smock 1999, 2000; Manning, Stewart, and Smock 2003); also, the effective collection of child support from fathers is hindered when they have children by more than one partner (Meyer, Cancian, and Cook 2005). Prior research pays only limited attention to how parental investments in children may vary across a range of family types with and without MPF.

FATHERING BEHAVIORS ACROSS FAMILY TYPES

In recent decades, there has been a change in fathering roles such that fathers, especially middle-class fathers, are now expected to play an active role in child rearing rather than simply serving as the family's breadwinner. A growing literature endeavors to measure the nature of fathers' involvement with children and how it may vary between family types or by a father figure's biological status with respect to a child (Lamb 2010).

Studies comparing married biological and social fathers generally find that social fathers (especially stepfathers) engage in lower-quality parenting practices than married biological fathers (Hofferth and Anderson 2003; Hofferth et al. 2007). However, two recent studies using data on an urban birth cohort from the late 1990s find that resident social fathers display equal or even higher levels of paternal involvement than do resident biological fathers (Berger et al. 2008; Gibson-Davis 2008). This may suggest either that differences by biological status have diminished in recent cohorts or that such differences tend to be smaller among urban families in which parents are likely to have begun their childbearing outside of marriage.

PARENTAL TIME WITH CHILDREN

A number of studies measure the amount of time that parents spend engaged in particular activities with children, generally using detailed time diary measures that ask parents to report in specific increments about how they spent their time on a given weekend day or weekday. Most of these studies focus on married parents living with their biological child or children and evaluate the absolute and/or relative levels of mothers' and fathers' time spent with children. Results from these studies suggest that married fathers' time with children has increased since the 1960s and that married mothers' time with children has remained constant (despite much higher labor force participation today). As a result, fathers' relative time, as a share of mothers' time, has increased (Bianchi 2000; Sayer, Bianchi, and Robinson 2004). Yet, there remain important differences in the nature of mothers' versus fathers' time with children: fathers are less likely than mothers to spend time in child care as a primary activity and are more likely to spend time with children in a helper role to mothers or in activities (such as playing) that are more time flexible (Craig 2006). Since most of these studies focus only on married or two-parent families, they shed little light on the levels of parental time that children experience across a broader range of family types.

In sum, while various studies consider differences in parenting behaviors and economic resources across family types, existing research typically focuses on comparisons across a single contrast (e.g., two- vs. one-parent families or biological fathers vs. social fathers) and does not consider the parental investment that children receive across a fuller array of contem-

porary family types. This study extends the extant literature by describing the package of parenting and economic resources that children from a recent urban birth cohort receive from their biological mother and father as well as any resident social father. We describe levels of investments at approximately child age 5 and also consider changes in investments over time between child ages 1 to 5. Although we expect that these levels of parenting are linked to children's well-being, our task here is to provide a basic description and comparison of these levels across family types. Future work will evaluate the association between parenting across the various family types and children's well-being.

DATA AND METHOD

This study uses data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, a longitudinal, birth-cohort survey designed to track the conditions and capabilities of unmarried parents in large urban areas and a comparison group of married parents and their children over time (Reichman et al. 2001). The study follows 4,897 children and their parents in 20 US cities with populations of 200,000 or more from birth (1998–2000) onward. Unmarried parents were oversampled such that the initial sample was composed of 3,710 nonmarital births and 1,187 marital births. However, when weighted, the data are representative of all births in large US cities in the late 1990s. Mothers in the FFCWS were interviewed in person at the hospital within 48 hours of giving birth to the focal child; fathers were either interviewed in person in the hospital (if present) or were interviewed in person elsewhere as soon as possible. Follow-up interviews were conducted when focal children were approximately 1, 3, 5, and 9 years old.

Response rates for the baseline survey were 82 percent for married mothers and 87 percent for unmarried mothers; married biological fathers were interviewed in 89 percent, and unmarried biological fathers in 75 percent of cases where the mother was interviewed. At the 1-, 3- and 5-year follow-up surveys, interview response rates for mothers (and fathers) who were married at the focal child's birth are 91 (82), 89 (82), and 86 (78) percent, respectively, with eligibility being defined by the mother having completed a baseline interview; response rates for unmarried mothers (fathers) were 90 (71), 88 (69), and 87 (67) percent, respectively. Social fathers were not directly interviewed in any of the FFCWS survey waves. Therefore, in order to include data on as many fathers and father figures as possible, and

to achieve consistency in reporters across father types, we use only data from mothers' interviews.²

The cross-sectional measures are drawn primarily from the 5-year follow-up interview with mothers. For the longitudinal analysis, we use similar measures from the 1- and 3-year interviews.³ The covariates are assessed primarily at the baseline survey. We include both unmarried and married cases at birth and use the city sampling weights to adjust for the oversampling of nonmarital births, so our results can be generalized to children who were born in US cities with populations of 200,000 or more between 1998 and 2000. The analyses are limited to those children who resided with their biological mother at the time of the age-5 interview, since FFCWS does not include a sample of children with other living arrangements that is large enough for meaningful analysis.⁴

It is important that we retain children and parents with missing data in our analysis sample, given prior research suggesting that FFCWS children with data missing are systematically more disadvantaged than those with complete data (Sinkewicz 2006). Thus, we employed multiple imputation techniques using the *ice* command within Stata (Royston 2004) to create 40 complete data sets with imputed values for all variables with missing data for the full FFCWS sample of 4,897 children. Two percent of the total observations are excluded from the analysis sample because the focal child was not living with his or her mother at least half time, as were 2 percent of the remaining observations, due to missing city-level sampling weights. This resulted in an analysis sample of 187,384 total observations of 5-year-old children and their families across the 40 imputed data sets (4,672 to 4,693 observations per data set).⁵

- 2. We also tested the robustness of our results using nonresident fathers' own reports of their involvement, which we discuss in the Results section.
- 3. The response scale at 9 years was changed to reflect engagement over the past month instead of the past week; the difference in response choices limits the ability to compare to prior years.
- 4. Furthermore, we did not want to combine reports of father involvement from mothers and from fathers in the same measure, since they may be qualitatively different. Hence, we do not include fathers with sole custody of their children.
- 5. About 20 percent of biological fathers were reported as having spent some time incarcerated between the focal child's birth and the age-5 interview; we include these fathers in order to be able to generalize to all biological fathers (although it is certainly more difficult for fathers to be involved while incarcerated).

Family Structure

We categorize family structure by considering whether the child's biological parents are married (and coresident), cohabiting, dating, or none of these. Cohabitation is defined as mothers' reporting that they live with the biological father (or social father) "all or most of the time"; dating relationships are determined by mothers' reporting that they are "romantically involved" but not cohabiting. For those biological parents who are not in a romantic relationship with each other, we consider whether a resident social father (cohabiting or married partner or spouse of the biological mother who is unrelated to the focal child) is present in the child's household.6 As such, the analyses focus on six mutually exclusive and exhaustive family structure categories (see table 1, bottom row, for frequencies): married mother and biological father, cohabiting mother and biological father, married mother and social father, cohabiting mother and social father, mother living alone but dating biological father, and mother living alone and single (defined as not romantically involved with the biological father, but she could be dating a new partner).7

Parental Investments

The analyses use two measures of parental investment in children. First, we measure the frequency of parental engagement in activities that children experienced with their biological mother, biological father (whether resident or nonresident), and resident social father (if present). Mothers reported on the frequency with which each of these potential parental figures engaged in eight parent-child activities during the week prior to the interview: singing songs or nursery rhymes, reading stories, telling stories, playing inside with toys, telling child the parent appreciated something he or she did, playing outside, going on outings, and watching TV or a video. Response options ranged from 0 to 7 days during the week. These

- 6. We also originally defined family structure to include whether the child's grandparents were present in the household, but the cell sizes became too small for analysis. Overall, 9 percent of children are living with their mother and one or more grandparents at age 5.
- 7. Across the 1-year, 3-year, and 5-year waves, 21, 25, and 29 percent of mothers are dating a new partner, respectively, but we have no information about dating partners' engagement with the child and hence cannot consider their potential investments.

Pacalina Family			Age 5	Family Typ	е	
Baseline Family Characteristics (at Focal Child's Birth)		M and BF Cohabiting			M and BF Dating	M Single and Not Dating BF
M and BF married	.866	.018ª	.339 ^{a,b}	.418 ^{a,b}	.019 ^{a,c,d}	.255 ^{a,b,d,e}
M and BF cohabiting	.105	.694 ^a	.215 ^{a,b}	.276 ^{a,b}	.250 ^{a,b}	.256 ^{a,b}
M and BF dating	.002	.032 ^a	.102 ^a	.037 ^a	.124 ^c	.068 ^{a,d}
M single and not						
dating BF	.027	.256 ^a	.344 ^a	.268 ^a	.607 ^{a,b,c,d}	.420 ^{a,b,d}
Child is female	.391	.480	.428	.477	.547 ^a	.470
Child was low						
birth weight	.044	.087	.057	.114 ^a	.134	.123 ^{a,c}
M is white	.452	.061 ^a	.223 ^{a,b}	.261 ^{a,b}	.048 ^{a,c,d}	.148 ^{a,b,e}
M is black	.169	.467 ^a	.437 ^a	.414 ^a	.738 ^{a,b,c,d}	.534 ^{a,d,e}
M is Hispanic	.277	.450 ^a	.314	.266 ^b	.175 ^b	.301 ^b
M is another						
race/ethnicity	.103	.023 ^a	.025 ^a	.059 ^b	.040	.018 ^{a,d}
M age at focal child's						
birth	29.273	25.051 ^a	22.158 ^{a,b}	26.567 ^{a.c}	25.512 ^{a,c,d}	25.076 ^{a,c}
	(.393)	(800.)	(.007)	(.510)	(.001)	(.408)
M US born	.672	.762 ^a	.947 ^{á.b}	.671 ^{6,c}	.920 ^{a,b,c,d}	.822 ^{a,c,d,e}
M has less than a high						
school education	.166	.394 ^a	.313	.351 ^a	.284	.383 ^a
M has a high school						
degree or GED	.242	.402 ^a	.444	.347 ^a	.525 ^a	.379 ^a
M has more than a high						
school education	.592	.204 ^a	.243 ^a	.303 ^{a,b}	.191 ^a	.237 ^a
M used substances						
during pregnancy	.182	.270ª	.159 ^b	.213 ^b	.251	.242
First birth to M	.597	.716ª	.487 ^b	.605	.567 ^b	.598 ^b
M-BF relationship						,,,,,,
length (months)	93.663	57.157 ^a	47.032 ^a	71.222 ^{a,c}	41.754 ^{a.b,d}	59.321 ^{a,e}
	(4.991)	(.118)	(.747)	(6.970)	(.028)	(5.209)
Either parent considered	, ,	` ,	,	,	()	(5,255)
abortion	.099	.392ª	.382ª	.255 ^{a,b}	.253 ^a	.330 ^a
M lived with biological						
parents at age 15	.695	.422 ^a	.170 ^{a,b}	.541 ^{a,b,c}	.561 ^c	.350 ^{a,c,d}
M's religious service						
attendance	2.634	3.301 ^a	2.861 ^b	2.928 ^{a,b}	2.663 ^b	3.001 ^{a,b}
	(.114)	(.002)	(.003)	(.070)	(.000.)	(.062)
M's gender role		, ,	, ,	, ,	(/	(.332)
attitudes	2.157	2.155	1.854 ^{a,b}	2.087 ^c	2.006	2.105
	(.071)	(.001)	(.001)	(.037)	(.016)	(.054)
M's report of relationship	, ,	, ,	, ,		(1010)	(.001)
quality	2.769	2.650 ^a	2.540 ^a	2.630 ^a	2.671	2.500 ^{a,b,d,e}
	(.022)	(.003)	(.007)	(.037)	(.000.)	(.037)
No. of children in M's HH	1.013	1.276	1.005	1.172	1.256	1.213 ^a
	(.083)	(.002)	(.003)	(.084)	(.001)	(.077)
No. of adults in M's HH	2.182	2.382 ^a	2.336	2.282	2.079	2.206
	(.040)	(.003)	(.005)	(.075)	(.000)	(.066)
Grandparent present	, ,	()	(.000)	(.070)	(.000)	(.000)
in M's HH	.073	.261 ^a	.318 ^a	.180 ^{a,b}	.347 ^{a,d}	.319 ^{a,d}
M's HH income (natural				1,00	.0-17	.519
log; 2005 \$)	10.789	9.706 ^a	9.928 ^a	10.025 ^{a,b}	9.466 ^{a,c}	9.820 ^a
	(.129)	(.001)	(.003)	(.125)	(.000)	
	()	(,	(.000)	(.123)	(.000)	(.071)

Baseline Family			Age 5	Family Type	e	
Characteristics (at Focal Child's Birth)				M and SF Cohabiting		M Single and Not Dating BF
M worked last year M received TANF	.724	.685	.819	.644 ^{a,c}	.879 ^{a,b,d}	.684 ^e
last year Weighted proportion	.112	.380 ^a	.219 ^b	.260 ^{a,b}	.377 ^a	.333 ^a
of sample	.410	.078	.022	.253	.023	.214

Note.—M = mother; BF = biological father; SF = social father; GED = general equivalency diploma; HH = household; TANF = Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. 187,384 observations across 40 imputed data sets (4,672 to 4,693 observations per data set). Means/proportions presented with standard errors in parentheses where applicable. Data are weighted.

- a Significantly different from "M and BF married" at p < .05.
- ь Significantly different from "M and BF cohabiting" at p < .05.
- c Significantly different from "M and SF married" at p < .05.
- d Significantly different from "M and SF cohabiting" at p < .05.
- \blacksquare Significantly different from "M and BF dating" at p < .05.

items are often used in major national surveys (such as the Panel Study of Income Dynamics—Child Development Supplement and the Early Head Start Study), as measures of parental engagement (see, e.g., Hofferth et al. 2007).

Factor analysis indicated that the items loaded onto a single parenting construct ($\alpha=.69$ for biological mothers, .94 for biological fathers, and .96 for resident social fathers). When nonresident biological fathers had not seen the child more than once in the past month, mothers were not asked the activity questions; hence, these fathers are assigned scores of zero on all activity items. Likewise, children who did not have a coresident social father received a score of zero for social-father activities. To assess the total activities that children experienced with each parental figure, we summed the activity frequency scores across all potential activities for each parental figure (the total score for each parental figure has a possible range from 0 to 56). We created an overall total activities score by summing the total scores for the three potential parental figures. As such, each child has a total parent-child activity value, as well as specific values for biological mother—child activities and biological father—child activities, and social father—child activities if they are living with a social father.

Second, mothers report household income, reflecting the total amount of income the household received in the prior year (including earnings, transfers, and any child support received). Total income does not necessarily represent the family's direct financial investment in the focal child, and we cannot ascertain the extent to which income (especially social fathers' income) is actually shared across household members. However, this measure approximates the total amount of financial resources that are potentially available for such investment.

The following analyses primarily present simple descriptive statistics on the mean levels of parental investment (engagement in activities and access to income) that children receive across family structures. However, they also examine differences in mean levels of investment after adjusting for key baseline characteristics (measured at the time of the focal child's birth) that may be associated with both parental investment level and family structure category. These include the following: child gender; whether the child had a low birth weight; maternal race (black non-Hispanic, white non-Hispanic, Hispanic, and other non-Hispanic); maternal age (in years) at the child's birth; whether the mother was born in the United States; maternal education (less than high school, high school degree/GED [General Equivalency Diploma], some college or higher); whether the mother used substances during pregnancy; whether the focal child is the mother's first birth; mother-biological father relationship length (in months); whether either parent considered aborting the focal child; whether the mother lived with both of her biological parents at age 15; the mother's religious service attendance (range 1-5); the mother's traditional gender role attitudes (range 1-4); the mother's report of positive relationship quality with the biological father (range 1-3); the number of children in the mother's household; the number of adults in the mother's household; whether a grandparent coresided with the mother; the natural log of household income around the time of birth (2005 dollars); whether the mother worked last year; and whether the mother received Temporary Assistance to Needy Families last year.

METHOD

The majority of the analyses consist of calculating overall mean or median levels of parental interaction and economic resources that children receive. Table 2 presents these descriptive statistics for our six family structures. For mothers living with social fathers, in some analyses we further consider whether or not the couple shares a common biological child. Finally, to obtain means or medians that have been adjusted for differences

TABLE 2. Mean Activity Engagement with Child

	M and BF Married	M and BF Cohabiting	M and SF Married	M and SF Cohabiting	M and BF Dating	M Single and Not Dating BF
Total activity engagement	64.608	65.896	76.696 ^{a,b} (.161)	48.198 ^{a,b,c} (1.210)	58.058 ^{c,d} (.141)	45.395 ^{a.b,c.e} (.965)
M activity engagement	36.180	36,289	39.125 ^{a.b} (.030)	38.892 ^{a.b} (.195)	38.698 (.001)	37,225° (.699)
BF activity engagement	28.428	29.607	3.251 ^{a.b} (.085)	1.517 ^{a,b} (.287)	19.360 ^{a.b.c.d} (.141)	8.170 ^{a,b,c,d,e} (.680)
SF activity engagement	,000. (000.)	(000.)	34.320	7.789 ^c (.900)	000.	000.
Household income (2005 \$)	77,342.50 (7,539.69)	32,261.70 ^a (30.54)	37,110.10ª (98.30)	$38,488.00^{a}$ (5,899.41)	20,252.70 ^{d.0,c,u} (4.57)	(2,428.09)
Household income (median) Total songs or nursery rhymes	57,897.30	25,847.01 7.523 (006)	35,000.00 8.030 (.077)	18,423.00 5.856 ^{a.b.c} (.160)	15,000.00 6.953 (.013)	13,523.16 5.238ª.b.c.d.e (.148)
Total reading stories	8.398	7.360 ^a (,003)	9.774 ^{a,b} (.027)	5.903 ^{á.b.c} (.132)	6.197 ^{å.c} (.016)	5.265 ^{a,b,c,d} (.257)
Total telling stories	7.562	6.970	8.324 ⁶ (.019)	5.046 ^{a.b.c} (.191)	6.893	5.129 ^{a.b.c} (.208)
Total playing inside with toys	8.339 (.194)	8.207 (.003)	11.045 ^{á,b} (.032)	6.231 ^{a,b,c} (.150 ₎	7,416° (.047)	6.056 ^{a,5,c} (.281)
Total telling child appreciated something	12.165	12.616 ^a (.004)	13.368 ^{a.b} (.028)	8.5874.0.0	(.060)	8.264 (173)
Total playing outside	7.118	7.212 (.003)	8.383 (.022)	4.272ª.º.º (.187)	6.364° (.037)	(.153)
Total outings	5.493	5.434	6.359 (.025)	3.912 ^{a.b.c} (.126)	5.166 (.008)	4.099
Total watching TV or a video	8.143	10.574 ^a (.002)	11.412 ^a (.024)	8.391 ^{b.c} (.166)	8.196 ^{b.c} (.015)	6.774ª.b.c.a (.174)
Weighted proportion of sample	,410	.078	.022	.253	.023	214

Note.—M = mother; BF = biological father; SF = social father. 187,384 observations across 40 imputed data sets (4,672 to 4,693 observations per data set). Means (and standard errors) presented unless otherwise noted. Data are weighted.

a Significantly different from "M and BF married" at $\rho < .05$. b Significantly different from "M and BF cohabiting" at $\rho < .05$. c Significantly different from "M and SF married" at $\rho < .05$. d Significantly different from "M and SF cohabiting" at $\rho < .05$. e Significantly different from "M and BF dating" at $\rho < .05$.

in the baseline characteristics described above (including marital status at birth, given the oversample of nonmarital births), we estimate (weighted) ordinary least squares regression models predicting each of the parental investment measures as a function of family structure and the full set of covariates. We then calculated adjusted mean levels of activity engagement and household income based on the family structure coefficients produced by these regressions.⁸ These adjusted values allow us to evaluate parenting and income levels net of key selection factors that are known to sort individuals into various family types (Sigle-Rushton and McLanahan 2004).

RESULTS

Table 1 presents data on the prevalence of family structures among our sample of 5-year-old children (shown in the bottom row), as well as information about baseline characteristics by family type (weighted by city sampling weights). Overall, 41 percent of sample families include both of the focal child's married biological parents, 8 percent include his or her cohabiting biological parents, 2 percent include a social father who is married to the child's mother, 25 percent include a social father who is cohabiting with the child's mother, 2 percent are headed by a single mother who is romantically involved with (i.e., dating) the child's biological father, and 21 percent are headed by the child's single, biological mother who is not romantically involved with the child's father (and may or may not be dating another man).

Turning to the baseline characteristics, the data reveal that the biggest differences are observed between married two-biological-parent families and all other family types. Married two-biological-parent families are disproportionately comprised of white, older, and more highly educated mothers, who are more likely to have lived with both of their biological parents at age 15 and less likely to have considered having an abortion. Among the family types other than married two biological parents, most mothers have a high school degree or less, and the proportion of black and Hispanic mothers is always larger than the proportion of white mothers.

8. Specifically, we calculated mean activity engagement and mean income for each family type by adding the OLS regression coefficient on that family type to the unadjusted mean value on the outcome for married mother and biological father families (the reference group in the regressions).

We present unadjusted mean levels of parental investment by family type in the top panel of table 2 and show the same information graphically in figure 1. As described above, a child can receive a total activities score from 0 to 56 (representing eight activities experienced over 0–7 days in the past week) for each potential parent figure. As such, children in families that include a social father may receive an overall score ranging from 0 to 168, whereas those in all other family types (with no social father) may receive an overall score ranging from 0 to 112.

On the whole, the data show that married and cohabiting two-biological-parent families exhibit similar levels of total activities (65 and 66, respectively). These mean scores are notably lower than those of married social-father families (77) but higher than those of cohabiting social-father families (48), single-mother families in which the mothers is dating the focal child's biological father (58), and in those families in which the mother is not romantically involved with the child's biological father (45). For the most part, these general conclusions about the cumulative scores also apply to the individual activity items, which reflect the average level of parent-child interaction on a given activity across all parent figures (shown below the overall totals in table 2).

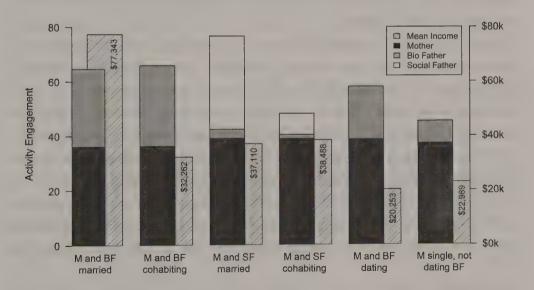


FIGURE 1. Total (sum of) mother, biological father, and social father activity engagement and mean household income by family type (unadjusted). Note.—Each stacked bar represents the total (sum of the) number of activities engaged in with children in the week before the interview by mothers (black section), biological fathers (gray section), and social father (white section) for each family type. Activity engagement for each parent was assessed on a 0- to 56-point scale. The diagonally striped bars represent median household income for each family type.

Three interesting patterns are apparent in these data. First, the maternal activities level is quite consistent across all six family types (ranging from 36 to 39), although mothers' activities are statistically significantly lower among mothers who are married to or cohabiting with the child's biological father (around 36) as compared to mothers married to or cohabiting with a social father (around 39). Second, resident married social fathers engage in higher levels of activities compared to resident biological fathers (34 for married social fathers vs. 28-30 for married and cohabiting biological fathers), whereas cohabiting social fathers engage in substantially lower levels of activities (mean of 8) than all three of these groups. Third, nonresident biological fathers participate in very few activities with children when a social father is present (average scores of 3 and 2 for married and cohabiting social-father families, respectively) as compared to single-mother families in which the mother is (mean of 19) and is not (mean of 8) romantically involved with the biological father.9 Taken together, these patterns indicate that children living in a married social-father family receive the highest level of total activity engagement, followed by those in married and cohabiting biological-father families, those whose biological parents are dating, those in cohabiting socialfather families, and those in single-mother families in which the biological parents are not dating.

We also find substantial differences in household income across family types. Families with two married biological parents have considerably higher mean and median incomes than all other family types. The mean (median) household income for biological married parents is \$77,343 (\$57,897) compared to \$38,488 (\$35,000) or less for all other family types. At the same time, at least among the two-parent (biological or social father) families in this sample, differences in parent-child activity levels do not appear to closely mirror differences in income. Also, the 21 percent of children living with a single mother who is not romantically involved with their biological father are strikingly disadvantaged with respect to

^{9.} Note that the biological-father numbers take the average across all biological fathers, including those who have no involvement with the focal child (i.e., the zeros). For the family types where the biological father is not living with the child (i.e., where there are a nontrivial number of zeros), when we limit the sample to those cases where the biological father had at least some contact with the child, we obtain the following mean activity scores by family type: social father married = 10.9, social father cohabiting = 17.6, mother dating biological father = 22.0, and mother single = 16.9.

both parental time and parental income, with a mean level of total parentchild activities of 45 and a median household income of \$13,523, very similar to the US poverty line (\$13,461) for a family of two that includes one child in 2005.¹⁰

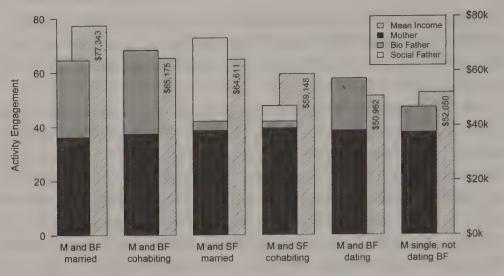
We also estimated similar models using the 9-year data (results not shown), and the patterns are nearly identical, though the 9-year data include a smaller number of parenting items than earlier waves and use a different response scale, making comparison across waves difficult. Similar to the 5-year results, the family types with the lowest overall parentchild activity are the mother and social-father cohabiting families and families where the mother is single and not dating the biological father. Also, mother involvement is relatively consistent across family types; biological fathers are most involved when they live with their child and least involved when the mother and child live with a social father; and married social fathers have higher involvement than either married or cohabiting biological fathers, whereas cohabiting social fathers have a very minimal level of interaction with the focal child.

Figure 2 shows the same analyses as above but using adjusted means (produced by the OLS regressions using baseline covariates, described above). The overall pattern of these results is consistent with the unadjusted results, suggesting that differences in parent-child interaction across family types (though less so in income) are not primarily driven by differences in characteristics of mothers between family structure categories. Therefore, we present unadjusted results for the remainder of our analyses, since the interpretation is more straightforward. However, despite similarities in the relative pattern of investment across family types, adjusting for differences in background characteristics raises the levels of mean income for family types other than married biological-father families. This makes sense, since married mother and biological-father families have higher socioeconomic capacities than the other family types, so holding such capacities constant diminishes the gap.

DIFFERENCES ACROSS PARENT FIGURES

Thus far, we have examined average differences in activity levels by family type. However, the distributions of activities engaged in by biological moth-

^{10.} US Census 2005, poverty thresholds, accessed September 22, 2012, at http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/data/threshld/thresh05.html.



TIGURE 2. Total (sum of) mother, biological father, and social father activity engagement and mean household income by family type (adjusted for baseline characteristics). Note.—Each stacked bar represents the total (sum of the) number of activities engaged in with children in the week before the interview by mothers (black section), biological fathers (gray section), and social father (white section) for each family type. Activity engagement for each parent was assessed on a 0- to 56-point scale. The diagonally striped bars represent mean household income for each family type.

ers, biological fathers, and social fathers across family types are also informative. These data are presented in the histograms in figure 3, which show the density (proportion of fathers, mothers, and social fathers) at each activity level in units of five (i.e., 0–5 activities, 6–10 activities, etc.). Mothers' activities are represented by the shaded bars, biological fathers' activities by diagonally striped bars, and social fathers' activities by horizontally striped bars.

The first two histograms show that the activity levels of mothers and fathers in married and cohabiting two-biological-parent families are approximately normally distributed. However, the entire distribution of fathers' activities (diagonal striped area) is to the left of that of mothers (gray shaded area), suggesting that fathers engage in fewer activities than mothers throughout the distribution. The histogram for married social-father families suggests that mothers and married social fathers (horizontal striped area) engage in activity levels that are similar to, though slightly greater than, those of mothers and resident biological fathers (note the different scale on the left). Both mothers and social fathers are approximately normally distributed and, as was the case for biological fathers, the social-father distribution is to the left of that for mothers. Note that involvement by cohabitating social fathers is much lower than that by mar-

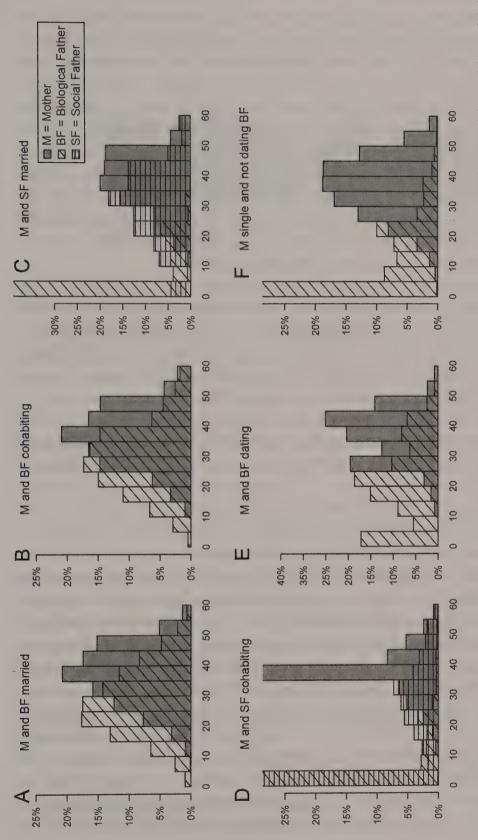


FIGURE 3. Distribution of mother, biological father, and social father activities within each family type. NOTE.—The distributions of the total (sum of the) number of activities engaged in with children in the week before the interview are presented for mothers (gray bars), biological fathers (diagonally striped bars), and social father (horizontally striped bars) for each family type. M = mother, BF = biological father, SF = social father.

ried social fathers. Furthermore, on average, mothers who are cohabiting with a social father engage in moderately high levels of activities: approximately 80 percent of these mothers reported 35 to 40 activities (note that this bar is open at the top because it extends beyond the scale of the figure). These histograms also reveal that, when mothers are married to or cohabiting with a social father, a large proportion of biological fathers engage in no or very few activities with the focal child (85 percent and 93 percent for married and cohabiting social father families in the 0–5 bar, respectively; again, the bars are open at the top because they extend beyond the scale of the figure). Furthermore, of those biological fathers who do participate in activities with their child, the distribution is heavily skewed toward the left (few activities) with a thin right tail.

For families in which the biological mother and father are living apart but dating, a nontrivial proportion (over 15 percent) of biological fathers participate in no or few activities with the child, but the distribution for those who do is relatively normal and, again, to the left of the distribution for mothers (note the different scale on the left side). Finally, in single-mother families in which the mother and father are not romantically involved, 58 percent of biological fathers engage in no or very few activities with the child (again, an open bar on the left side), and the remainder of the distribution is considerably skewed to the left with a thin right tail.

DIFFERENCES BY TYPE OF PARENT-CHILD ACTIVITY

The analyses to this point primarily focus on the overall level of parent-child activity engagement to which children in different family types are exposed; we now consider potential differences in the types of activities children experience across family types. To provide insight into such differences, we compare levels of participation in reading and TV/video watching across the six family types. These results are presented in figure 4. We chose to compare reading and TV/video watching because they may present the most extreme contrast with regard to promoting positive child development. That is, of the eight possible activities, reading with a child is arguably the most important for (at least cognitive) healthy development; more frequent parental reading has been linked to improved cognitive scores, regardless of socioeconomic background (OECD 2011). By contrast, TV/video watching is arguably the least important (or involves the least intensive parental engagement). As such, comparing levels of these

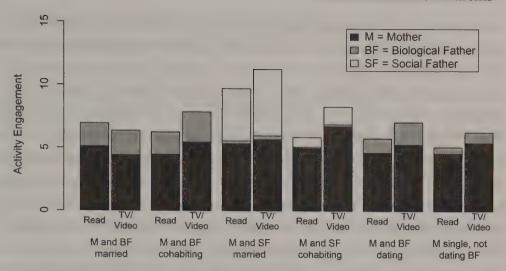


FIGURE 4. Total (sum of) mother, biological father, and social father reading and watching TV/videos by family type (unadjusted). Note.—Each stacked bar represents the total (sum of) either reading or TV/video-watching activities engaged in with children in the week before the interview by mothers (black section), biological fathers (gray section), and social father (white section) for each family type. Each parent's engagement in each activity was assessed on a 0- to 7-point scale.

two types of activities provides insight into whether particular family types, and which parental figures therein, are more likely to engage in more or less developmentally stimulating activities.

The results in figure 4 suggest that mothers in all family types engage in relatively similar levels of reading and TV/video watching. As such, the primary differences in activity types across family types appear to result from men's behaviors. In general, we see relatively higher levels of father TV/video watching compared to reading in cohabiting biological-father families, married, and (especially) cohabiting social-father families, as well as in both forms of single-mother families. Married biological fathers engage in relatively similar levels of both activities.

DIFFERENCES BY MULTIPLE-PARTNERED FERTILITY STATUS

Next, we examine whether overall patterns of activity engagement differ by MPF status. Because the cell sizes available to investigate differences across all six family types and MPF status would be too small for meaningful analysis, we consider only three family types: whether the child lives with both (married or cohabiting) biological parents, lives with his or her mother and a (married or cohabiting) social father, or lives with a single mother. These results (not shown) indicate that children in twobiological-parent families receive similar levels of total activity engagement regardless of whether either, both, or neither of their parents has a child with another partner. At the same time, two-biological-parent families with MPF (either by the mother or father) have considerably lower average incomes than those without MPF. Among (married and cohabiting) social-father families, children where one of their biological parents has MPF experience greater overall engagement than those whose biological parents have children only with one another (53 vs. 41 total activities). This appears to be largely driven by higher levels of social-father involvement with the focal child in families with MPF, presumably because the social father is the biological father of another child in the house (i.e., a half sibling of the focal child). By contrast, among single-mother families, we observe higher levels of engagement among families where neither biological parent has MPF, compared to those where a biological parent has MPF (51 vs. 45 total activities). This appears to be primarily driven by higher levels of biological-father activities among the former. As with two-biological-parent families, both social-father and single-mother families have lower levels of income when a biological parent has MPF than when they do not.

As noted above, the potential explanation for higher levels of activities in social-father families where biological parents have MPF is that the social father and mother share one or more common biological children; in other words, the MPF occurred with a new partner after the focal child's birth, and the new partner is the current social father to the focal child. In such situations, social fathers may be more engaged with the focal child as a result of their engagement with their joint biological child(ren) with the mother. An examination of this possibility (results not shown) suggests that this is the case. Among social-father families in which the mother and social father do versus do not share at least one common child, we find substantively meaningful differences in overall levels of activities (75 vs. 47) and levels of social-father activities (32 vs. 7). In other words, the focal child gets more interaction from a resident social father when he or she has a half sibling (of the mother and social father) who presumably lives in the household. However, biological fathers engage in slightly fewer activities with the focal child when the mother and social father have had a child together than when they have not (4 vs. 1), while mother activity engagement is relatively consistent across family types.

CHANGE IN PARENTAL INVESTMENT OVER TIME

Our results thus far focus on cross-sectional measures of parental engagement and household income at approximately child age 5. However, changes over time in the parenting packages that children experience are also salient for child development and are likely to differ by the family configurations to which children are exposed. Thus, we also examine patterns of change in parental investments and family types over time by noting which of three family types the child lived in at ages 1 and 5: with his or her mother and biological father, his or her mother and a social father, or his or her single mother. (To preserve larger cell sizes, we do not differentiate between marriage and cohabitation in biological- and socialfather families.) This results in nine possible categories of family stability or change between the two time points. However, since our data contain no cases in which children lived with a social father at age 1 followed by a biological father at age 5, and very few cases in which children lived with their mother and a social father at both time points, or transitioned from a mother and social-father family at age 1 to a single-mother family at age 5, we exclude these potential groups from the results presented in figure 5, where we focus on six family structure categories.

Figure 5 shows results for the change in total activity engagement, as well as activity engagement for each parent figure, between years 1 and 3 and between years 3 and 5 for each of the six family types. (Note that the scale of the left axis differs across panels.) Overall levels of engagement (panel A) tend to decline over time for children with all family experiences, except those transitioning from a single-mother family at age 1 to a social-father family at age 5. These declines are relatively similar for three groups of children: those who lived with their mother and biological father at both years 1 and 5, those who lived with their single mother at age 1 and their mother and biological father at age 5, and those who lived with a single-mother at both age 1 and age 5. There is a notable and steep decline in engagement for children who lived with their mother and biological father at age 1 and their single mother at age 5, as well as those who lived with their mother and biological father at age 1 and mother and a social father at age 5. By contrast, we see a modest rise in engagement for those

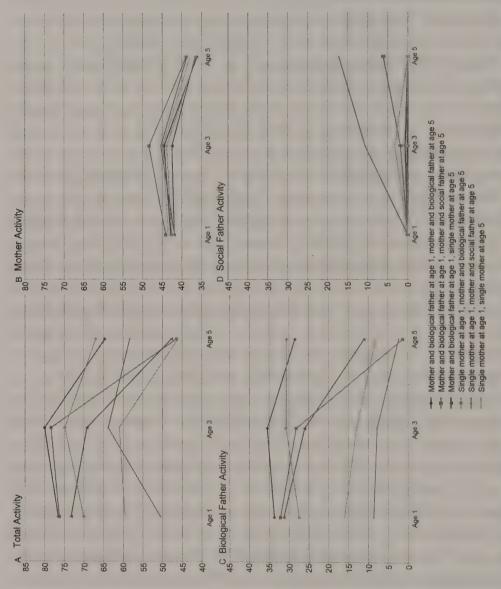


FIGURE 5. Change in activity engagement years 1, 3, and 5 by family type. Note.—The scale of the left axis differs across panels.

who transitioned from living with their single mother at age 1 to their mother and a social father at age 5.

Turning to the involvement of each parent separately (panels B-D), maternal engagement is remarkably similar across all six family types: it is relatively stable from ages 1 to 3 and then declines slightly between ages 3 and 5 (which may reflect a change in maternal behaviors or in children entering preschool and spending less time with mothers). The pattern for biological fathers is quite different; consistent with the crosssectional results, biological father activity engagement is closely related to family type. Engagement remains relatively high for children who live with both the mother and biological father at both time points (although, like maternal engagement, it decreases between ages 3 and 5), as well as those living with their single mother at age 1 and their mother and biological father at age 5. Biological-father involvement drops dramatically for the two categories in which focal children lived with their mother and biological father at child age 1 but either their single mother or, in particular, their mother and a social father at age 5. For social-father involvement (panel D), we observe the opposite pattern: social-father involvement increases considerably when social fathers have moved in with the mother by child age 5, especially when the mother was single at child age 1.

Finally, we also examine change in mean household income as a function of change in family type (fig. 6). The one circumstance under which income remains consistently high is when the biological father remains in the household. Household income is much lower across all other family types. It declines over time for children who live with their mother and biological father at age 1 and their single mother at age 5. Income increases

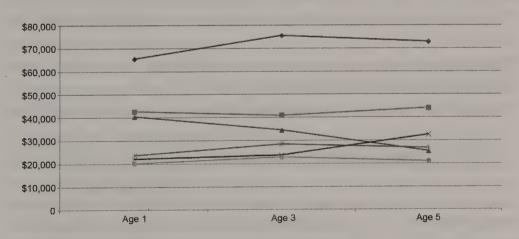


FIGURE 6. Change in mean household income years 1, 3, and 5 by family type (2005 \$)

somewhat for those children who move in with their biological father by age 5 (less so for those moving in with a social father), remains relatively stable (and moderate) for those who move from a biological-father to a social-father family between ages 1 and 5, and remains relatively stable (and very low) for those living with a single mother at both time points.

NONRESIDENT FATHER REPORTS OF ENGAGEMENT

The primary analyses rely on mothers' reports of biological and social fathers' engagement with children. Both because maternal reports of nonresident biological fathers' behaviors may be particularly ill informed, if not biased, and because a subset of biological (but not social) fathers is interviewed in the FFCWS, we reestimated our results (shown in appendix table A1) using nonresident biological fathers' own reports of their engagement in activities with children (for the four family types where biological fathers are not coresident).11 These results yield notably higher estimates of biological fathers' involvement for three of four family structure categories that involve a nonresident biological father: mother and social father married (3.3 using mothers' reports vs. 15.7 using fathers' reports in cases where the mother and social father are married; 1.5 using mothers' reports vs. 22.4 using fathers' reports when mother and social father are cohabiting; and 8.2 using mothers' reports vs. 18.9 using fathers' reports when the mother is single and not dating the biological father). There is little difference when the mother and biological father are dating: 19.4 using mothers' reports and 20.0 using fathers' reports. However, the general pattern of our results is relatively similar regardless of whether mothers' or fathers' reports are used, with the notable exception that children living in a cohabiting social-father family are reported to have considerably higher levels (69 vs. 48) of total activity engagement when father reports are used and, to a lesser extent, that children living with a single mother who is not dating the child's biological father are also reported to have higher total levels of engagement (56 vs. 45) when father reports are

^{11.} We do not use biological fathers' own reports for cases in which the biological father is coresident because the FFCWS data do not include comparable self-reported activities for social fathers, and we have no reason to believe maternal reports on resident biological-father vs. resident social-father activities would systematically differ such that we should utilize mothers' reports for resident social fathers but men's own reports for resident biological fathers.

used. Nonetheless, when we look at change over time (results not shown) using nonresident fathers' own reports of their activity engagement, although again, the pattern is that nonresident biological fathers report higher absolute levels of activity engagement than mothers report, the patterns of activity engagement as a function of stability or change in family type over time are similar to those observed based on mothers' reports.

DISCUSSION

In this article, we describe the parenting packages received by young, urban children across a range of family structures, with regard to both parent-child activity engagement and economic resources potentially available for investment. With respect to parenting, consistent with prior research, this study finds that levels of parental engagement with children are highest among two-parent families as compared to single-parent families (McLanahan and Sandefur 1994; Thomson, Hanson, and McLanahan 1994). However, contrary to prior research on parenting across particular family structures (e.g., Thomson et al. 1994) and research that compares paternal involvement among biological versus social fathers (e.g., Hofferth and Anderson 2003), we find that among children living with two parents or parent figures, the small fraction (2 percent) of children living with their biological mother and a married social father experience greater overall levels of parental interaction than their counterparts living with two biological parents. This is because married social fathers display an average level of involvement that is higher than those of resident biological fathers, and children living with a married social father also have a modest amount of interaction with their nonresident biological father (although a large proportion of these children have no interaction with their biological father).12 By contrast, cohabiting social-father involvement is much lower than that of married social fathers (and married and cohabiting biological fathers). This is not surprising, since cohabiting relationships typically have lower commitment and stability than marriages, and some research suggests there is notable variation in when and under what conditions stepfathers consider themselves to be father figures to their partner's children (Marsiglio 1995; Marsiglio 2004; Schmeeckle et al. 2006).

^{12.} The former finding is consistent with those of several recent studies of urban parents also using the FFCWS (Berger et al. 2008; Gibson-Davis 2008).

Consistent with the extensive body of literature on family structure and economic resources (e.g., McLanahan and Sandefur 1994; Thomson et al. 1994), in our sample, children living with their married biological parents have much higher levels of reported income than children in single-mother families. However, contrary to prior research showing similar economic resources in married biological families and married social-father families (i.e., stepfamilies; see, e.g., McLanahan and Sandefur 1994), in this study, levels of economic resources are considerably lower for the latter. Indeed, the economic resources of all (married and cohabiting) social-father families in the sample fall somewhere between single-mother families and married biological-father families. Levels of economic resources for married social-father families may be lower in this study because such parents in the FFCWS are primarily those who have repartnered after a nonmarital birth (since few of the married parents at birth had divorced and repartnered by the 5-year follow-up survey), as compared to large national surveys in which remarried stepfamilies (after divorce) are typically compared to married biological parents. Economic resources of cohabitingmother and biological-father families are also more similar to those of single-mother families than to those of married mother and biologicalfather families.

We are struck by the fact that, across all family types, the level of maternal activity engagement with children is remarkably consistent. It appears that resident mothers play a rather consistent role in the lives of their children, regardless of their surrounding family configuration. At the same time, at least in terms of the number of parent-child activities. mothers do not appear to compensate for low levels of nonresident biological fathers' involvement when fathers live away (though we recognize that our measure does not fully capture amount of time engaged in activities). As such, when biological fathers live outside of children's homes, especially when the mother is no longer romantically involved with him, children receive much lower levels of total parental investment. Yet, it is important to note that a small fraction of children living with a single mother also live with a grandparent, and these analyses do not capture grandparent involvement (or that of any other relatives or caregivers). Thus, we may be underestimating the total investment that children in such circumstances receive from other relatives or household members.13

^{13.} In addition, it is important to recognize that our measures tap only the frequency with which parents engage in eight activities with children. As discussed below, our analyses

The fact that the overall pattern of differences in parent-child activities across family types does not change after adjusting for a number of baseline covariates suggests that selection on these key variables (age, race, education, family background, immigrant status, substance use, first birth, mother-father relationship length, religiosity, attitudes, number of children and adults in the household, grandparent coresidence, income, work, and welfare receipt) is not the dominant reason for observed differences in parenting by family structure. Yet, there may be additional factors that differentiate both family structure and levels of parental involvement that were not included in our analyses. The household income values are more notably changed by adjusting for baseline characteristics, suggesting that a large part of why married two-biological-parent families have higher income is due to their (primarily socioeconomic) capacities; at the same time, the rank ordering of family types by income is barely altered in the adjusted estimates.

We also compared involvement across family types in two particular activities representing more (reading) versus less (watching TV/videos) developmentally stimulating activities for children. In married-biological families, children experience more parenting interaction in reading than in video/TV watching, whereas in all other family types, video/TV watching is higher than reading. This overall pattern is paralleled by the individual parents' activity scores—only in married biological families are mothers more engaged in reading than TV/video watching (and fathers' time in each is similar), whereas mothers, biological fathers, and social fathers report greater TV/video watching than reading in all five other family types. The within-family variation is greater for fathers (both biological and social) than mothers. These differences in the types of parent-child activities both within and across families suggest that future work should disaggregate the components of the cumulative parenting activities when considering the effects of parental involvement on children's well-being.

We expected that parental MPF would be associated with diminished investment in children. Although we found (results not shown) considerable differences in income, such that families in which parents had experienced MPF had lower incomes than those in which biological parents had children with only one another, we found less consistent patterns of differences in activity engagement. Children in single-mother families

are silent with regard to the quality of parent-child interactions, as well as other aspects of parenting.

with MPF experienced lower overall parent-child activities than those in single-mother families without MPF, largely because nonresident biological fathers are much less involved in the context of MPF. We also found slightly lower overall involvement among two-biological-parent families with MPF than those without. However, for mother and social-father families, where differences by MPF status do exist, we find that they tend to favor children whose parents have MPF; this is because mothers and especially social fathers engage in higher levels of activities with children in the context of MPF (while nonresident biological fathers are slightly less involved). As we expected, this finding was largely driven by social fathers being more involved when they have a common biological child with the mother; in other words, a resident social father interacts more with the focal child when the mother and social father have a child together (i.e., a half sibling to the focal child) than when the social father and biological mother do not have a child together.

On the whole, we find that biological fathers tend to have relatively little involvement when their child lives with a social father. This pattern is consistent with research suggesting that maternal repartnering (Tach et al. 2010) and having children with new partners (Manning and Smock 1999) are associated with decreased nonresident biological-father involvement (Berger, Cancian, and Meyer 2012). While one study notes that ongoing contact with nonresident biological fathers does not appear to diminish the benefits of social-father involvement for children (Bzostek 2008), how biological and social father involvement is linked (i.e., whether they complement or substitute) for children with both, and how they conjointly affect child well-being, is a useful topic for future research.

Our results also provide new information about changes over time in levels of parental investment as a function of changes in family configuration. We find that maternal engagement with children remains quite consistent over time, regardless of family structure changes. This contrasts with several studies showing that mothers' partnership transitions are linked to greater parenting stress and low-quality or harsh mothering (Osborne and McLanahan 2007; Cooper et al. 2009; Beck et al. 2010); yet, our results are consistent with two papers showing that family structure changes are *not* linked to maternal engagement (Gibson-Davis 2008) or literacy-promoting activities (Beck et al. 2010). It appears that mothers' (positive) engagement in activities with children may be much more sta-

ble in the face of family structure change than are mothers' negative parenting behaviors (which may increase). Again, it is important to note that our analyses do not assess parenting quality.

We find much more variation over time as a function of family structure changes in the behaviors of both biological and social fathers. As men move into or out of children's lives, their involvement changes accordingly, underscoring the notion of the "package deal" that links fathers' partner and paternal roles (Furstenberg and Cherlin 1991; Townsend 2002; Edin, Tach, and Mincy 2009; Tach et al. 2010). Consistent with prior empirical research using the same data on urban parents, this study finds that nonresident biological fathers are much less involved than either married or cohabiting biological fathers (Gibson-Davis 2008), and social fathers who live with children are equally as or more involved than resident biological fathers (Berger et al. 2008).

There are several limitations to our analyses. First, all of our information about parent-child interaction for all parent figures in our main results comes from the child's biological mother. Maternal knowledge of nonresident biological fathers' interactions with focal children may be especially limited or inaccurate, since mothers are unlikely to observe these interactions or may harbor ill feelings, given the failure of their romantic relationship with the nonresident father (Coley and Morris 2002). Furthermore, mothers may report higher levels of involvement by resident social or biological fathers than nonresident fathers because of a social desirability bias, since the former are partners with whom they are engaged in ongoing cohabiting or marital relationships and, presumably, who they hope or expect to be actively involved with their children. Fortunately, an analysis of nonresident fathers' reports of their involvement suggests that although the levels of engagement reported by fathers may be higher than those reported by mothers, the patterns of involvement by family type observed using mothers' reports are not challenged by the use of nonresident fathers' reports.

Second, our measures assess only the frequency of parent-child interaction and are silent with regard to the nature or quality of these interactions. Quantity may be a poor proxy for quality of involvement (or time length of involvement), and more may not always be better, particularly with regard to the measure that aggregates across a range of activity types. In addition, the same metric assesses parenting activities across

ily configurations.

244

different parental figures and also for both resident and nonresident biological fathers, despite the fact that a given level of parent-child activities may not mean the same thing across these different contexts. For example, nonresident fathers' face-to-face activities with a child require much more effort, time, and logistical coordination than resident fathers' activities. As noted above, in future research we plan to examine how the level of parent-child interaction is related to child outcomes across these various contexts and actors. Hopefully such research will yield evidence about returns to the frequency and types of parental activities across various fam-

Third, since we only have measures of social-father involvement while social fathers are living with children, we may be overestimating social-father involvement over the long term. To the extent that mothers' relationships with social fathers are unstable, high levels of social-father involvement observed at a given point in time may be a weak indicator of long-term investment. This is of particular concern because, given the absence of a biological tie, social fathers are likely to have (at best) limited involvement with their expartners' children following the dissolution of their romantic relationship. At the same time, social-father investments may begin well before the mother and social father form a cohabiting union. Our analyses are also silent in this regard.

A related concern is that we cannot disentangle the direction of association between social and biological father involvement. That is, although our data reveal that biological fathers are less involved when children live with a social father, we cannot determine if mothers have greater incentive to find a new partner when the biological father is not involved or if biological fathers become less involved once mothers move in with a new partner. Future research should disentangle the direction of these paternal processes and their consequences for children.

In sum, this study provides new descriptive evidence about two key parental inputs, time and money, with respect to 5-year-old children living in a range of contemporary family types, as well as evidence regarding patterns of change in these behaviors between child ages 1 and 5. Unlike past research that typically considers a single contrast by family type or parent figure, this study evaluates the contributions of biological mothers, biological fathers, and resident social fathers in order to provide aggregate estimates of the parental resources available to children, though

estimates are admittedly crude. We find that children living with both of their (married) biological parents are advantaged with respect to both economic resources and levels of parent-child activities, while children living with single mothers fare especially poorly in both domains; children in social-father families receive similar levels of activity engagement to those in biological-father families but are much less economically advantaged. To the extent that time and money are important factors in promoting children's health, development, and well-being, our results suggest that early differences may have long-term consequences for children as they grow into adulthood.

APPENDIX

TABLE A1. Mean Activity Engagement with Child Using Nonresident Fathers' Own Reports of Their Activities

	M and BF Married	M and BF Cohabiting	M and SF Married	M and SF Cohabiting	M and BF Dating	M Single and Not Dating BF
Total activity engagement	64.608 (1.096)	65.896 (.016)	89.156 (.764)	69.032 (.914)	58.742 (.411)	56.162 (1.179)
Mother activity	` ′	` ,	` ′	, ,	, ,	, ,
engagement	36.180 (.640)	36.289 (.018)	39.125 (.030)	38.892 (.195)	38.698	37.225 (.699)
Biological father activity	,	,	,	, ,	,	, ,
engagement	28.428 (.534)	29.607 (.022)	15.711 (.808)	22.351 (.441)	20.044	18.937 (.898)
Social father activity	,	` '	, ,	, ,	, ,	
engagement	.000	.000	34.320 (.163)	7.789 (.900)	.000	.000
Weighted proportion of	,	,	, ,	,	,	, ,
sample	.410	.078	.022	.253	.023	.214

Note.—M = mother; BF = biological father; SF = social father. 187,384 observations across 40 imputed data sets (4,672 to 4,693 observations per data set). Biological father reports of their own activities are utilized for all families with a nonresident biological father (cols. 3-6); mother reports are used in all other cases (cols. 1-2). Means (and standard errors) presented unless otherwise noted. Data are weighted.

NOTE

Marcia Carlson (carlson@ssc.wisc.edu) is professor of sociology, and Lawrence Berger (lmberger@wisc.edu) is associate professor of social work at the University of Wisconsin—Madison; both are also affiliated with the Center for Demography and Ecology and the Institute for Research on Poverty at UW—Madison. We thank the Eunice Kennedy Shriver

National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) for supporting our work on this project through grants R01HD57894 (Carlson) and K01HD54421 (Berger), and through core funding to the Center for Demography and Ecology (R24HD047873). Also, the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study is supported through NICHD grants R01HD36916, R01HD39135, and R01HD40421, as well as a consortium of private foundations. A prior version was presented at the annual meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, November 2009, Washington, DC. We thank Kristen Cyffka for excellent assistance with data coding, analysis, and figures; Joe Glass for help with revised figures; and Rick Nordheim for helpful statistical advice. We appreciate useful comments about the first version of this article from Ron Mincy. All errors of commission or omission are our own.

REFERENCES

- Astone, Nan Marie, and Sara S. McLanahan. 1991. "Family Structure, Parental Practices and High School Completion." *American Sociological Review* 56 (3): 309–20.
- Baumrind, Diana. 1968. "Authoritarian versus Authoritative Parental Control." *Adolescence* 3 (11): 255–72.
- Beck, A. N., C. E. Cooper, S. McLanahan, and J. Brooks-Gunn. 2010. "Partnership Transitions and Maternal Parenting." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 72 (2): 219–33.
- Berger, Lawrence M. 2007. "Socioeconomic Factors and Substandard Parenting." Social Service Review 81 (3): 485–522.
- Berger, Lawrence M., Maria Cancian, and Daniel R. Meyer. 2012. "Maternal Re-partnering and New-Partner Fertility: Associations with Non-resident Father Investments in Children." Children and Youth Services Review 34 (2): 426–36.
- Berger, Lawrence M., Marcia J. Carlson, Sharon H. Bzostek, and Cynthia Osborne. 2008. "Parenting Practices of Resident Fathers: The Role of Marital and Biological Ties." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 70 (3): 625–39.
- Berger, Lawrence M., Christina Paxson, and Jane Waldfogel. 2009. "Income and Child Development." *Children and Youth Services Review* 31 (9): 978–89.
- Bianchi, Suzanne M. 2000. "Maternal Employment and Time with Children: Dramatic Change or Surprising Continuity?" *Demography* 37 (4): 401–14.
- Bornstein, Marc H. 2006. "Parenting: Science and Practice." in *Handbook of Child Psychology*, vol. 4 of *Child Psychology and Practice*. Edited by I. E. Sigel and K. A. Renninger. New York: Wiley.
- Brooks-Gunn, J. and L. B. Markman. 2005. "The Contribution of Parenting to Ethnic and Racial Gaps in School Readiness." *Future of Children* 15 (1): 139–68.
- Bzostek, Sharon. 2008. "Social Fathers and Child Well-Being." Journal of Marriage and Family 70 (4): 950–61.
- Coley, Rebekah Levine, and J. E. Morris. 2002. "Comparing Father and Mother Reports of Father Involvement among Low-Income Minority Fathers." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 64 (4): 982–97.
- Collins, W. Andrew, Eleanor Maccoby, Laurence Steinberg, E. Mavis Hetherington, and Marc H. Bornstein. 2000. "Contemporary Research on Parenting: The Case for Nature and Nurture." *American Psychologist* 55 (2): 218–32.

- Cooper, C. E., S. S. McLanahan, S. O. Meadows, and J. Brooks-Gunn. 2009. "Family Structure Transitions and Maternal Parenting Stress." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 71 (3): 558–74.
- Craig, Lyn. 2006. "Does Father Care Mean Fathers Share? A Comparison of How Mothers and Father in Intact Families Spend Time with Children." *Gender and Society* 20 (2): 259–81.
- Dornbusch, Sanford M., J. Merrill Carlsmith, Steven J. Bushwall, Philip L. Ritter, Herbert Leiderman, Albert H. Hastorf, and Ruth T. Gross. 1985. "Single Parents, Extended Households, and the Control of Adolescents." *Child Development* 56 (2): 326–41.
- Eccles, Jacquelynne S. 1999. "The Development of Children Ages 6 to 14." Future of Children 9 (2): 30–44.
- Edin, Kathryn, Laura Tach, and Ronald Mincy. 2009. "Claiming Fatherhood: Race and the Dynamics of Paternal Involvement among Unmarried Men." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 621 (2): 149–77.
- Furstenberg, Frank F., and Andrew Cherlin. 1991. *Divided Families: What Happens to Children When Parents Part*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gibson-Davis, Christina M. 2008. "Family Structure Effects on Maternal and Paternal Parenting in Low-Income Families." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 70 (2): 452–65.
- Hamilton, Brady E., Joyce A. Martin, and Stephanie J. Ventura. 2011. "Births: Preliminary Data for 2010." *National Vital Statistics Reports* 60 (2): 1–25.
- Hofferth, Sandra L., and Kermyt G. Anderson. 2003. "Are All Dads Equal? Biology versus Marriage as a Basis for Paternal Investment." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 65 (1): 213–32.
- Hofferth, Sandra L., Natasha Cabrera, Marcia Carlson, Rebekah Levine Coley, Randal Day, and Holly Schindler. 2007. "Resident Father Involvement and Social Fathering." Pp. 335—74 in *Handbook of Measurement Issues in Family Research*, edited by S. L. Hofferth and L. M. Casper. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Lamb, Michael E. 2010. The Role of the Father in Child Development. New York: Wiley.
- Maccoby, Eleanor E. 2000. "Parenting and Its Effects on Children: On Reading and Misreading Behavior Genetics." Annual Review of Psychology 51:1–27.
- Maccoby, Eleanor E., and J. A. Martin. 1983. "Socialization in the Context of the Family: Parent-Child Interaction." Pp. 1–101 in *Handbook of Child Psychology*, vol. 4. Edited by E. M. Hetherington. New York: Wiley.
- Manning, Wendy D., and Susan Brown. 2006. "Children's Economic Well-Being in Married and Cohabiting Parent Families." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 68 (2): 345–62.
- Manning, Wendy D., and Daniel T. Lichter. 1996. "Parental Cohabitation and Children's Economic Well-Being." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 58 (4): 998–1010.
- Manning, Wendy D., and Pamela J. Smock. 1999. "New Families and Nonresident Father-Child Visitation." Social Forces 78 (1): 87–116.
- ———. 2000. "'Swapping' Families: Serial Parenting and Economic Support for Children." Journal of Marriage and the Family 62 (1): 111–22.
- Manning, Wendy D., Susan D. Stewart, and Pamela J. Smock. 2003. "The Complexity of Fathers' Parenting Responsibilities and Involvement with Nonresident Children." *Journal of Family Issues* 24 (5): 645–67.
- Marsiglio, William. 1995. "Stepfathers with Minor Children Living at Home: Parenting Perceptions and Relationship Quality." Pp. 211–29 in Fatherhood: Contemporary Theory, Research, and Social Policy, edited by W. Marsiglio. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- _____. 2004. "When Stepfathers Claim Stepchildren: A Conceptual Analysis." Journal of Marriage and Family 66 (2): 22–39.
- Martin, Steven P. 2006. "Trends in Marital Dissolution by Women's Education in the United States." *Demographic Research* 15 (20): 537–60.
- McLanahan, Sara. 2011. "Family Instability and Complexity after a Nonmarital Birth: Outcomes for Children in Fragile Families." Pp. 108–33 in *Social Class and Changing Families in an Unequal America*, edited by M. J. Carlson and P. England. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- McLanahan, Sara, and Gary Sandefur. 1994. Growing Up with a Single Parent: What Hurts? What Helps? Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- McLoyd, Vonnie C. 1998. "Socioeconomic Disadvantage and Child Development." *American Psychologist* 53 (2): 185–204.
- Meyer, Daniel R., Maria Cancian, and Steven T. Cook. 2005. "Multiple-Partner Fertility: Incidence and Implications for Child Support Policy." Social Service Review 79 (4): 577–601.
- Mincy, Ronald, Jennifer Hill, and Marilyn Sinkewicz. 2009. "Marriage: Cause or Mere Indicator of Future Earnings Growth?" *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 28 (3): 417–39.
- OECD. 2011. "What Can Parents Do to Help Their Children Succeed in School?" PISA in Focus (2011), no. 10. www.oecd.org/pisa/44012097.pdf.
- Osborne, Cynthia, and Sara McLanahan. 2007. "Partnership Instability and Child Well-Being." Journal of Marriage and Family 69 (4): 1065–83.
- Reichman, Nancy, Julien Teitler, Irwin Garfinkel, and Sara McLanahan. 2001. "Fragile Families: Sample and Design." *Children and Youth Services Review* 23 (4/5): 303–26.
- Royston, Patrick 2004. "Multiple Imputation of Missing Values." Stata Journal 4 (3): 227-41.
- Sayer, Liana C., Suzanne M. Bianchi, and John M. Robinson. 2004. "Are Parents Investing Less in Children? Trends in Mothers' and Fathers' Time with Children." *American Journal of Sociology* 110 (1): 1–43.
- Schmeeckle, Maria, Roseann Giarrusso, Du Feng, and Vern L. Bengtson. 2006. "What Makes Someone Family? Adult Children's Perceptions of Current and Former Stepparents." Journal of Marriage and Family 68 (3): 595–610.
- Sigle-Rushton, Wendy, and Sara McLanahan. 2004. "Father Absence and Child Well-Being: A Critical Review." Pp. 116–55 in *The Future of the Family*, edited by D. P. Moynihan, T. M. Smeeding, and L. Rainwater. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Sinkewicz, Marilyn. 2006. "The Mental Health of Men: Profiles and Life Trajectories of Urban American Fathers." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University School of Social Work, New York.
- Steinberg, Laurence. 2001. "We Know Some Things: Parent-Adolescent Relationships in Retrospect and Prospect." *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 11 (1): 1–19.
- Tach, Laura, Ronald Mincy, and Kathryn Edin. 2010. "Parenting as a Package Deal: Relationships, Fertility, and Nonresident Father Involvement among Unmarried Parents." Demography 47 (1): 81–204.
- Thomson, Elizabeth, Thomas L. Hanson, and Sara S. McLanahan. 1994. "Family Structure and Child Well-Being: Economic Resources vs. Parental Behaviors." *Social Forces* 73 (1): 221–42.

- Townsend, Nicholas W. 2002. *The Package Deal: Marriage, Work, and Fatherhood in Men's Lives*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- US House of Representatives. 2008. *Green Book: Background Material and Data on the Programs within the Jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Rising Extreme Poverty in the United States and the Response of Federal Means-Tested Transfer Programs

H. LUKE SHAEFER

University of Michigan and National Poverty Center

KATHRYN EDIN

Harvard University and National Poverty Center

ABSTRACT This study documents an increase in the prevalence of extreme poverty among US households with children between 1996 and 2011 and assesses the response of major federal means-tested transfer programs. Extreme poverty is defined using a World Bank metric of global poverty: \$2 or less, per person, per day. Using the 1996–2008 panels of the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), we estimate that in mid-2011, 1.65 million households with 3.55 million children were living in extreme poverty in a given month, based on cash income, constituting 4.3 percent of all nonelderly households with children. The prevalence of extreme poverty has risen sharply since 1996, particularly among those most affected by the 1996 welfare reform. Adding SNAP benefits to household income reduces the number of extremely poor households with children by 48.0 percent in mid-2011. Adding SNAP, refundable tax credits, and housing subsidies reduces it by 62.8 percent.

INTRODUCTION

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 ended the only cash entitlement program for poor families with children, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and replaced it with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), a program that offers time-limited cash assistance and requires able-bodied recipients to participate in work-related activities. This welfare reform, concurrent with changes to other public programs that increased the financial benefits of work for low-income households, was followed by a dramatic decline in cash assistance caseloads and an increase in work-conditioned benefits for the working poor (Ben-Shalom, Moffit, and Scholz 2012). That is, total public

Social Service Review (June 2013). © 2013 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved. 0037-7961/2013/8702-0002\$10.00

means-tested transfers have fallen for the nonworking poor but have increased for the working poor. Meanwhile, millions of parents are experiencing long spells of unemployment in the slow recovery following the Great Recession, with little immediate access to means-tested cash income support. This article examines whether these changes coincided with the growth of a particularly troubling subset among the American poor: households with children living on virtually no income. We define this group, the extreme poor, using one of the World Bank's measures of global poverty: \$2 or less per person, per day.

This article presents estimates of the prevalence of extreme poverty among households with children in the United States between 1996 and 2011. We expect that extreme poverty increased between 1996 and 2011, at least in part, because of the 1996 PRWORA reform and the Great Recession. While our investigation is motivated by these two key factors, the estimates presented here do not fully assess the causal mechanisms of any such rise in extreme poverty. However, this descriptive documentation is an important first step to understanding extreme poverty in the United States, which, to our knowledge, has never been measured in this way. Between 1996 and 2011, cash assistance receipt declined precipitously. In contrast, the percentage of low-income households that received means-tested benefits from the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, formerly called food stamps) and means-tested refundable tax credits (particularly the Earned Income Tax Credit [EITC]) increased. We hypothesize that these means-tested benefits expansions, particularly of SNAP, have partially offset the increase in extreme poverty that occurred between 1996 and 2011.

BACKGROUND

Several factors may be related to recent changes in the incidence of extreme poverty in the United States. The 1996 welfare reform replaced the need-based entitlement program, AFDC, with the more restrictive federal block grant program, TANF. Subsequently, cash assistance caseloads fell from 12.3 million recipients per month in 1996 to 4.5 million in December 2011, 1.1 million of whom are adults. Even during the current period of continued high unemployment, the cash assistance rolls have increased only slightly. Welfare in the form of cash assistance is a shell of its former self.

Other means-tested income support programs have grown considerably, most notably SNAP and EITC, along with other refundable tax credits for low-income families. SNAP eligibility requirements have been relaxed in some ways since the 1990s, and the value of EITC benefits has been increased in a number of ways since the early 1990s. SNAP caseloads increased from an average of 25.5 million recipients per month in 1996 to 47.3 million in January 2013. The number of families claiming the EITC rose from 19.5 million in 1996 to 27.8 million in tax year 2010 (Tax Policy Center 2010). While the EITC is restricted to wage earners, there is some evidence that many recipients save part of it during the year to protect themselves during short periods with no income (Mendenhall et al. 2012).

The 2009 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) temporarily increased SNAP benefits by about 15 percent per household, with this increase currently set to expire on October 31, 2013.2 The ARRA also expanded the EITC considerably for households with three or more children, and the child tax credit was expanded and extended to families with lower earnings. These major increases in means-tested aid were responses to the greatest economic contraction since the Great Depression in the 1930s. While the Great Recession era has ushered in a prolonged period of high unemployment, its real legacy may prove to be the unprecedented duration of unemployment spells: the average spell was 38.1 weeks as of December 2012. The Great Recession also saw an unprecedented expansion in Unemployment Insurance (UI) in terms of the duration of coverage, up to 99 weeks for some workers. However, recent studies find that low-earning workers continue to experience significant difficulty accessing UI benefits, largely as a result of ineligibility related to the reason for employment separation, and sometimes confusion about eligibility (O'Leary and Kline 2008; Shaefer 2010; Gould-Werth and Shaefer 2012). Thus, a rise in the number of households experiencing prolonged periods of unemployment may also have led to a rise in the number of households surviving on virtually nothing.

^{1.} Another refundable tax credit low-income families with children may benefit from is the child tax credit. Another example of in-kind benefits expansions is increased accessibility of public health insurance for low-income children and, in some states, their parents.

 $^{2. \} http://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/food-nutrition-assistance/supplemental-nutrition-assistance-program-(snap)/arra.aspx\#.UV3KMr8ggdI.$

In addition to reporting the official poverty rate, the Census Bureau also reports the deep poverty rate. Those in deep poverty have incomes below 50 percent of the official poverty threshold. Over the past 2 decades, families in deep poverty have experienced a substantial decline in the amount of aid they receive from public programs, while families with incomes between 50 and 150 percent of the poverty line have actually received an increase in assistance from public programs, on average (Ben-Shalom et al. 2012). But even families in deep poverty may be affected by changes to public programs and the economy in the last 15 years in ways that are heterogeneous to each other. In the post-PRWORA era, a single mother with a regular minimum wage job who works an average of 25 hours a week would accrue earnings below the threshold for deep poverty, but she could receive significant EITC and child tax credit benefits, she might access child-care subsidies, and she could remain on SNAP. In contrast, if that same single mother has multiple barriers to work and is unable to maintain regular employment, the family will receive little to no EITC and child tax credit, will be unlikely to access unemployment insurance benefits because of inadequate labor force attachment, cannot access child-care subsidies, and is much less likely to access cash assistance than before the 1996 reform. Thus, alternative metrics that use even lower resource thresholds may be necessary to gauge the circumstances of the poorest of the poor in the United States.

Several studies document an increasing proportion of single mothers who are considered to be disconnected, with neither earnings nor welfare (Turner, Danziger, and Seefeldt 2006; Blank 2007; Loprest 2011). As much as one-quarter of all single mothers were disconnected for at least a 4-month period in 2009 (Loprest 2011). Lesley Turner and colleagues (2006) find that disconnected mothers often face multiple barriers to work, such as learning disabilities, physical limitations, few work skills, and mental health problems. While these studies offer critical information about single mother families, other poor families with children also may be affected by the retrenchment of cash assistance and the current period of sustained high unemployment.

To capture the full extent of a household's resources, it is important to account not just for a family's household earnings and cash welfare but also for other sources of unearned and in-kind income, such as loans or gifts from family and friends, SNAP, public housing, and EITC benefits accrued during previous spells of work, even among the jobless. This article therefore offers

an alternative metric designed to measure the prevalence of extreme destitution among households with children between 1996 and 2011. It attempts to account for most sources of income as comprehensively as possible, including cash and in-kind income from public programs, informal work, and gifts and loans from family and friends inside and outside the household. To our knowledge, no previous study examines US poverty at such a low level of income. The primary goal of this analysis is to identify whether there was an increase in the number and proportion of households with children living on virtually no income coinciding with the implementation of the 1996 welfare reform, particularly in the context of the Great Recession.

Households are considered to be in extreme poverty if self-reported total household income adds up to \$2 or less per person, per day, in a given month (approximated as \$60 per person, per month, in 2011 dollars). Sensitivity analyses discussed below examine our estimates using a few other income thresholds. The measure of extreme poverty used here, \$2 per person, per day, is based on one of the World Bank's key indicators of global poverty.3 Tellingly, the World Bank does not release official estimates for the United States for this metric because it is meant to capture poverty based on "the standards of the poorest countries" (Ravallion, Chen, and Sangraula 2008, 163). Extreme destitution is assumed to be very uncommon among wealthy nations. Thus, this metric is conceptually appropriate for the current study, whose goal is to examine the incidence of extreme destitution in the United States and how it has changed over the study period. The official poverty line for a family of three equals roughly \$17 per person, per day, averaged over a year, so our measure is roughly 13 percent of the official poverty line. The Census Bureau's threshold for deep poverty would equate to an average of approximately \$8.50, per person, per day, over four times the cutoff we use for extreme poverty. Thus, the metric for extreme poverty used in this study is well below both of these official thresholds for poverty in the United States.

We hypothesize that the prevalence of extreme poverty in the United States has risen since 1996 but that this increase has been mitigated by the expansions of means-tested aid, particularly of SNAP and the EITC. Because of our study goals, we focus on a subpopulation, households with

^{3.} http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GAP2.

children. While it would be ideal to present international comparisons, such comparisons are not currently available for this subpopulation. Further, our estimates and methodology are modeled after, but are not identical to, what is used by the World Bank. Rather than collecting data that is identical to what the World Bank collects in developing countries, we have used the best data currently available in the United States, using questions that may not be directly comparable. Future research would need to address this to provide accurate international comparisons.

DATA AND METHODS

The data in this study come from the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), collected by the US Census Bureau. The study period starts in 1996, before states were required to implement the 1996 welfare reform and before the national unemployment rate fell to a low of 4.0 percent in 2000, and it ends with the most recent available SIPP data from the middle of 2011, when the national unemployment rate was roughly 9 percent.

Our comprehensive household-level total monthly income measure includes the resources of all individuals living in a housing unit: labor market earnings, pension and retirement benefits, cash income from public programs such as AFDC/TANF (but not in-kind transfers), asset income (dividends, interest, and rents), and reported income from friends and family members outside the household (including child support) and from informal sources (e.g., odd jobs). Our sample is restricted to households with children under age 18 and with household heads under age 65. We also drop observations in which households report negative income values, which may be related to investments, because these tend to be from households with higher incomes in other months. Income values are adjusted to 2011 dollars using the Consumer Price Index for urban customers, and household-level sample weights are used to produce nationally representative estimates.⁴

Our baseline estimates use monthly cash income values (which includes cash assistance) and reported family size. Table 1 also reports al-

^{4.} The full sample consists of 12,244 unweighted household observations reporting extreme poverty using the baseline definition, starting with 256 household observations in wave 1 of the 1996 panel and ending with 392 household observations in wave 9 of the 2008 panel.

TABLE 1. Alternative Estimates of Extreme Poverty of Households with Children

	Numb	Percent of Households with Children				
	1996	2011	% Growth	1996	2011	% Growth
Baseline monthly estimates						
(see figs. 1 and 2):			150.1	17	4.0	152.9
Cash only	636,000	1,648,000	159.1	1.7	4.3	
Add SNAP	475,000	857,000	80.4	1.3	2.2	69.2
Add SNAP, tax credits,					1.0	45.5
housing subsidies	409,000	613,000	49.9	1.1	1.6	45.5
Monthly with equivalence						
scale:			450.0		0.0	1577
Cash only	507,000	1,401,000	176.3	1.4	3.6	157.1
Add SNAP	408,000	732,000	79.4	1.1	1.9	72.7
Add SNAP, tax credits,						50.0
housing subsidies	293,000	476,000	62.5	.8	1.2	50.0
Quarterly estimates:						
Cash only	307,000	1,039,000	238.4	.8	2.7	237.5
Add SNAP	209,000	478,000	128.7	.6	1.2	100.0
Add SNAP, tax credits,						
housing subsidies	189,000	373,000	97.4	.5	1.0	100.0
Quarterly with equivalence						
scale:						
Cash only	212,000	797,000	275.9	.6	2.1	250.0
Add SNAP	167,000	360,000	115.6	.5	.9	80.0
Add SNAP, tax credits,						
housing subsidies	136,000	273,000	100.7	.4	.7	75.0
1 or more months per						
quarter (cash only)	1,295,000	2,407,000	85.9	3.5	6.3	80.0

Source.—Authors' analyses of the 1996 and 2008 panels of the SIPP.

ternative estimates using quarterly income and an equivalence scale, the goal of which is to account for economies of scale as household size increases.⁵ Ideally we would also report annual estimates, but unfortunately, to produce annual estimates, the SIPP requires the use of calendar year weights, which are not yet available for the final year of the study period (they are also unavailable for some years in the study period because of breaks between SIPP panels). Also, monthly estimates better protect against biasing from nonrandom attrition throughout SIPP panels. Still, this represents an important limitation of the current analysis; it is possible that households could experience a month or even a calendar quarter in extreme poverty but have larger incomes over a full year.

For monthly estimates, we keep only SIPP reporting month observations (fourth reference month) in each wave because these are known to

^{5.} The square root of household size.

be the most accurate (Moore 2008). We replicate results with all SIPP months (see table 3), and findings are substantively similar. As is commonly done, reporting-month observations within each wave are stacked to generate cross-sectional estimates. For our quarterly estimates, we use reporting-month observations and average months across two waves (reference month 3 wave t + reference month 4 wave t + reference month 1 wave t + 1). To minimize bias caused by nonrandom attrition, we do not want to drop cases not present in wave t + 1. In those cases, we use reference months 2, 3, and 4 of wave t.

Although survey respondents may underreport income, from both work and public program participation, when compared to other large nationally representative peer surveys, studies find that the SIPP is generally superior at measuring income and public program participation among the poor (Czajka and Denmead 2008; Meyer, Mok, and Sullivan 2009). John Czajka and Gabrielle Denmead (2008) estimate aggregate household income in the United States across a number of major household surveys. The SIPP generates an estimate of \$391 billion in income among families in the lowest income quintile, while the Current Population Survey (CPS) estimate is \$371 billion and the American Community Survey estimate is \$369 billion. Further, administrative earnings data (e.g., from unemployment insurance records or IRS tax records) are insufficient for capturing informal income among the poor. Thus, the SIPP is the source of nationally representative data that records the largest amount of income among the poor, making it the most appropriate choice for the current study.

In terms of capturing program participation, the SIPP also performs better, on average, than CPS and other major household surveys, although it is far from perfect. Bruce Meyer and colleagues (2009) compare reports of public program participation in a number of major household surveys to administrative caseload totals. The SIPP's reporting rate for SNAP was 84.2 percent in 1996, and it remained relatively stable through 2005, the final year Meyer and colleagues report on. In contrast, the CPS's reporting rate for SNAP was 66.3 percent in 1996 and fell to 56.5 percent in 2005. For AFDC and TANF, the SIPP reporting rate started at 79.5 percent in 1996, fell to 65.5 percent in 2002, but increased to 80.9 percent by 2005. For CPS, the AFDC and TANF reporting rate started at 67.0 percent in 1996, fell below 60 percent in a number of years, and ended at 63.0 percent in 2005 (and even down to 52.7 in 2007). It is worth noting that the SIPP reporting rates do not consistently worsen across the study period, at least

up to 2005. Thus, falling reporting rates over time cannot explain an increase in the prevalence of extreme poverty over the study period.

We estimate extreme poverty using three different definitions of household income. The first considers only reported household cash income from all sources, as described above. This definition most closely aligns with the official US poverty measure. The second adds SNAP benefits, assuming \$1 SNAP = \$1 cash. The third accounts for SNAP and also adds the estimated average monthly value of the household's net refundable federal tax credits, specifically the EITC and Child Tax Credit, the value of which is often greater than the income tax liability incurred by recipients, and government housing subsidies (section 8; public housing). Housing subsidies are accessed by a moderate percentage of low-income families. For this definition, any household reporting a housing subsidy is considered to be above the cutoff for extreme poverty. In taking into account major public programs, the second and third definitions more closely align with the Census Bureau's new supplemental poverty measure.

To estimate the total value of refundable federal tax credits, we average monthly household earned and unearned income reported by the household head for the full calendar year of the observation, and we then scale these monthly estimates up to equivalent annual earned and unearned household income estimates. This allows us to include observations that are in the sample for fewer than 12 months, which is important because of nonrandom attrition and panel breaks. We use TAXSIM to generate federal income and FICA (payroll) tax liabilities. Among low-income working households with children, annual federal income tax liabilities will be a net negative, indicating a transfer from the government to the household because the value of refundable credits will exceed income tax liability. However, FICA taxes are regressive, and for the same family this will result in a transfer from the household to the government. Thus, we take each household's refunded income tax liability, less FICA (censoring at zero because we do not want to code someone as being in extreme poverty as a result of annual FICA liabilities), and we divide this value by 12 to create a monthly amount. This value is added to each respondent's total monthly household income value by year.

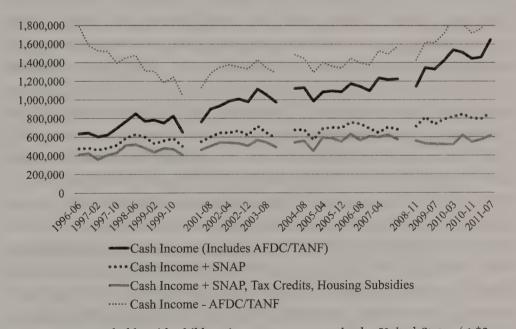
^{6.} Halfway through 2011, roughly one in five households in extreme poverty used a housing subsidy such as section 8 vouchers or public housing units (comparable to the proportion of all households in poverty). Additionally, about two-thirds of these households had at least one child covered by public health insurance, somewhat less than the same proportion for all households in poverty.

RESULTS

Figure 1 plots the number of households with nonelderly heads and minor children living in extreme poverty between 1996 and 2011. Breaks in the lines represent breaks between SIPP panels. We estimate that the number of households living on \$2 or less in cash income per person, per day, in a given month increased from about 636,000 in 1996 to about 1.65 million in mid-2011, a percentage growth of 159.1 percent. According to these estimates, in mid-2011, about 3.55 million children lived in extreme poverty each month (see table 2).

Figure 1 shows that counting means-tested benefits as income reduces but does not eliminate the rise in extreme poverty. With SNAP included as income, the number of extremely poor households increases by 80.4 percent, from roughly 475,000 to 857,000. When federal refundable tax credits and housing subsidies are accounted for, in addition to SNAP, the increase is about 50 percent, from 409,000 to 613,000 households, which included 1.17 million children (see table 2). Virtually all of the difference between the SNAP-only trend line and this final one is attributable to refundable tax credits.

The benefits of these means-tested public programs appear especially notable after the passage of the ARRA. As figure 1 demonstrates, extreme



PIGURE 1. Households with children in extreme poverty in the United States (≤ \$2 per person, per day). Source: Authors' analyses of the 1996 through 2008 panels of the SIPP. The horizontal axis represents approximate years and months of SIPP fourth reference month estimates. The vertical axis represents the number of nonelderly households with children. Breaks in the trend lines represent breaks in the SIPP panels.

TABLE 2. Characteristics of Households with Children in Extreme Poverty

	Number in Extreme Poverty, Monthly							
	Cash Only			Adjusted for Means-Tested Programs				
	1996	2011	% Growth	1996	2011	% Growth		
Total households	636,000	1,648,000	159.1	409,000	613,000	49.9		
Married households	323,000	602,000	86.4	255,000	330,000	29.4		
Single female	054.000	020 000	000.0	112.000	188,000	67.9		
households Race of household head	254,000	838,000	229.9	112,000	100,000	67.9		
White, non-Hispanic African American	334,000	782,000	134.1	243,000	375,000	54.3		
and Hispanic	265,000	758,000	186.0	130,000	182,000	40.0		
Children	1,383,000	3,547,000	156.5	788,000	1,166,000	48.0		

Source.—Authors' analyses of the 1996 and 2008 panels of the SIPP.

poverty based only on cash income increased considerably between late 2007 and early 2011. But when SNAP benefits and refundable tax credits and housing subsidies are added, the rise in extreme poverty was minimal over this period; in fact, it fell slightly in some months.

A final trend line presented in figure 1 subtracts income from cash assistance provided through AFDC and TANF from the cash income only estimate. That is, this line presents the number of households with children living on \$2 or less in cash income, per person, per day, in a given month, not accounting for cash assistance. In 1996, cash assistance substantially reduced extreme poverty, bringing the incomes of 1.15 million households above the extreme poverty threshold, reducing the prevalence of extreme poverty by about 64.3 percent. Throughout the 1990s, the extent to which cash assistance reduced extreme poverty declined substantially, and it flattened out in the early 2000s. By mid-2011, cash assistance was lifting the incomes of only about 291,000 families above the extreme poverty threshold, reducing the prevalence of extreme poverty by 15.0 percent.

Figure 2 examines the trend in extreme poverty as a proportion of all households with children. Extreme poverty grew steadily as a proportion of all households over the study period, spiking during the Great Recession. In 1996, households in extreme poverty represented about 1.7 percent of all households. Between 1997 and 2000, a period of low unemployment, this proportion grew to about 2.0 percent. Between 2001 and 2009, this incidence grew from 2.3 percent to about 3.0 percent, and it hovered between 4.0 and 4.3 percent through mid-2011.

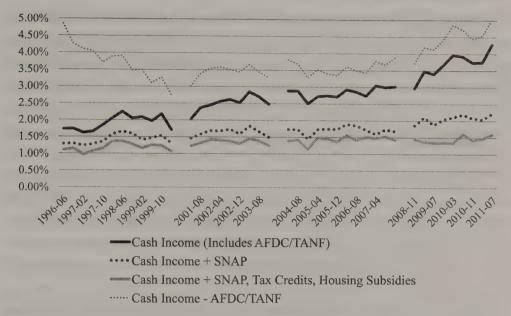


FIGURE 2. Proportion of households with children in extreme poverty (\leq \$2 per person, per day). Source: Authors' analyses of the 1996 through 2008 panels of the SIPP. The horizontal axis represents approximate years and months of SIPP fourth reference month estimates. The vertical axis represents the proportion of nonelderly households with children. Breaks in the trend lines represent breaks in the SIPP panels.

When SNAP is included, households in extreme poverty rise from about 1.3 percent of all households with children in 1996 to 2.2 percent in 2011, an increase of 69.2 percent. Adding refundable tax credits and housing subsidies reduces the percentage increase to about 45.5 percent. Finally, the trend line omitting cash assistance from AFDC/TANF follows a similar pattern as the corresponding trend line in figure 1. In 1996, cash assistance was lifting between 2.5 and 3.1 percent of all households with children out of extreme poverty every month. By mid-2011, it was lifting less than 1 percent of households out of extreme poverty.

Table 1 presents some alternative estimates of extreme poverty. First, instead of dividing income by the number of persons in the household, we used an equivalence scale (the square root of household size). This reduces the extreme poverty count in mid-2011, from 1.65 to 1.40 million, but the rate of growth is consistent with our baseline estimates.

We also averaged each household's income over 3 months, a quarterly estimate. Fewer households experience extreme poverty for a calendar quarter when compared to a month. However, the percentage growth in extreme poverty based on quarterly income is consistent with the monthly estimates. After adjusting for means-tested programs, the growth in the

number of households experiencing extreme poverty was 49.9 percent using our monthly measure. In contrast, it was 97.4 percent using quarterly income and about the same when an equivalence scale is used. These higher growth rates are likely a function of lower starting values in 1996. Still, it appears that the proportion of households with children exposed to extreme poverty has grown, even when longer rather than shorter spells are considered.

The bottom row of table 1 reports a final specification for our baseline definition (using cash income only). The number of households with children who reported at least 1 month of extreme poverty over a calendar quarter increased from about 1.30 million in 1996 to 2.41 million households in mid-2011, consisting of 6.3 percent of all households with children in mid-2011.

Table 2 looks at the characteristics of the households living in extreme poverty using, first, cash income only and then adjusting for means-tested program participation. These estimates, particularly, should be treated with caution because different subgroups may have different rates of underreporting of program participation and income, which are averaged out in the population-level estimates. Such variable rates of underreporting could bias estimates of relative trends across groups. Still, these estimates may prove insightful for understanding which subgroups have experienced a rise in extreme poverty and whether these findings are consistent with the possibility that at least part of this rise is related to changes stemming from the 1996 welfare reform. Using the cash-only definition, in 2011, about 36.5 percent of the households in extreme poverty were headed by a married couple, and 50.8 percent were headed by a single female. After adjusting for means-tested programs, just over half of the extreme poverty households are married, and less than one-third are headed by a single female, reflecting greater reliance on public programs among single female-headed households.

In mid-2011, using the cash-only definition, about 47.5 percent of households in extreme poverty were headed by white non-Hispanics, and 46.0 percent were headed by African Americans or Hispanics (reported together because of small sample sizes). After adjusting for means-tested program participation, the proportion headed by white non-Hispanics increases to about 61.2 percent. Thus, extreme poverty is not limited to households headed by single mothers or disadvantaged minorities. Still, it is clear that the percentage growth in extreme poverty over our study pe-

riod was greatest among vulnerable groups who were most likely to be affected by the 1996 welfare reform. The percentage growth in extreme poverty for households headed by single females was 229.9 percent using cash only and 67.9 percent after adjusting for means-tested programs. Growth in extreme poverty was larger for racial minorities under the cash-only definition than for non-Hispanic whites, although racial minorities may have been better buffered against the rise in extreme poverty by major means-tested income transfer programs.

One concern is that these results are being driven by rising rates of imputed values for income and program participation variables in the SIPP over time (Meyer et al. 2009). Imputation rates are consistently low in the first wave of each panel, rise throughout waves within panels, and are typically at their highest level in the final waves of a panel. Thus, if rising rates of imputation are driving the substantive findings presented here, this should generate significant declines in extreme poverty between the final wave of one panel (with high rates of imputation) and the first wave of the next (with low imputation). This can be directly examined by looking at the estimates across the breaks between panels in figures 1 and 2. In most cases, the estimate for extreme poverty increases in the first wave of a new panel (when imputation is low) relative to the last wave of the previous one (when imputation is high). Thus, it appears unlikely that rising rates of imputation are driving the rise in extreme poverty over the study period.

Another concern is that other factors besides the 1996 welfare reform are driving the rise in extreme poverty. It is beyond the scope of the current study to assess fully the causal mechanisms of rising extreme poverty in the United States. Still, some analyses may strengthen the case that the retrenchments enacted through the 1996 reform are at least partially to blame for this trend. First, the final trend lines in figures 1 and 2 (cash income—AFDC/TANF) show that cash assistance was substantially reducing extreme poverty in early 1996 but that by mid-2011 it was having a smaller effect.

Second, the trends of a comparison group can shed light on whether the relationship is potentially causal. If the increase in extreme poverty were equally as large for households without children (who, as a group, have never been eligible for cash assistance) as for households with children, this would call into question the extent to which the 1996 welfare reform drove the rise in extreme poverty. Table 3 presents the starting

TABLE 3. Households in Extreme Poverty: Sensitivity Analyses

	Percent of Households							
	Cash Only			Adjusted for Means-Tested Programs				
	1996	2011	% Growth	1996	2011	% Growth		
Households with								
children (baseline) Using all months	1.7	4.3	152.9	1.1	1.6	45.5		
of data	1.9	4.0	110.5	1.0	1.7	70.0		
Households								
without children	3.0	5.1	70.0	2.6	4.3	65.4		
Households with children:								
Using ≤ \$4								
threshold	3.1	5.7	83.9	1.5	2.6	73.3		
Using ≤ \$6								
threshold	5.2	7.5	44.2	2.2	3.8	72.7		
Using ≤\$8								
threshold	7.3	9.6	31.5	3.3	4.9	48.5		
Total households,								
as of 2008 wave 1	636	1,145	80.0	409	560	36.9		

Source.—Authors' analyses of the 1996 and 2008 panels of the SIPP.

and ending points for the proportion of households without children in extreme poverty during our study period. While this group does experience an increase in extreme poverty over the study period, the growth is less than half of the percentage growth in extreme poverty experienced by households with children.⁷ This is consistent with our hypothesis that some part of the rise in extreme poverty can be attributed to the 1996 welfare reform and some portion of the rise is related to other causes, such as rising unemployment during the Great Recession. As expected, table 3 further shows that means-tested programs are having much greater success in reducing extreme poverty among households with children than among households without children. In mid-2011, means-tested programs reduced the proportion of households with children in extreme poverty from 4.3 percent to 1.6 percent. But, for households without children, means-tested programs reduced the proportion in extreme poverty from 5.1 percent to 4.3 percent.

^{7.} In addition, examining the full trend line for households without children shows that there was no increase in extreme poverty for this group during the 1990s, whereas households with children saw a substantial increase.

Finally, it is important to consider how the estimates presented here may be affected by the exact threshold used for the extreme poverty measure. If rising extreme poverty is being driven by the retrenchment of cash assistance at the very bottom of the income distribution, then we would expect this trend of rising extreme poverty based on cash income to dissipate gradually as the threshold is increased from \$2 a day to higher levels and labor market participation becomes more common. That is to say, as the threshold, by definition, includes more individuals with other sources of income, the effect of the retrenchment of cash assistance will be more muted. Table 3 reports estimates using three alternative thresholds: $\leq \$4$, \leq \$6, and \leq \$8 per person, per day. When looking at the cash-only definition, the estimates presented in table 3 follow the pattern as expected. The increase in extreme poverty between 1996 and 2011 using the \$2 threshold was 152.9 percent. Using the \$4 threshold over the same period, the increase was 83.9 percent. Using the \$6 threshold, it was 44.2 percent, and using an \$8 threshold, the increase was 31.5 percent. Thus, as the threshold increases, the rise over time in the proportion of families below that threshold gradually declines, as compared to the baseline estimate of \$2 per person, per day.

CONCLUSION

As of mid-2011, our estimates suggest about 1.65 million households with 3.55 million children were surviving on \$2 or less in cash income per person, per day, in a given month. These estimates account for income received from TANF and other direct cash income transfer programs. Households in extreme poverty constituted 4.3 percent of all nonelderly households with children. The prevalence of extreme poverty rose sharply between 1996 and 2011, with the highest growth rates found among groups most affected by the 1996 welfare reform. When income over the quarter is used rather than income from a single month, the proportional increase in extreme poverty over the study period is comparable to, and in some cases larger than, that derived from the monthly estimates, although the overall incidence is lower.

Considering SNAP benefits as equivalent to dollars reduces the number of extremely poor households with children in mid-2011 by 48.0 percent, and when refundable tax credits and housing subsidies are subsequently added, the number falls by 62.8 percent. We estimate that these major means-tested

aid programs currently save roughly 2.38 million children from extreme poverty each month but leave 1.17 million children behind. Our estimates come from a household survey and thus fluctuate somewhat from month-to-month, as is made obvious in figures 1 and 2. Therefore, the exact point estimates should be treated with caution. The trend over time, on the other hand, is quite clear, substantial, and robust to a number of sensitivity tests.

Our estimates may be biased by underreporting of income by SIPP respondents. While this is a limitation of our work, the SIPP does comparatively well relative to other major surveys in terms of reporting rates (Meyer et al. 2009), and reporting rates for most programs have not fallen steadily over the study period in a way that would explain the dramatic and steady increase in extreme poverty. Further, underreporting of income itself suggests adverse outcomes, such as engagement in the underground economy (Edin and Lein 1997). For example, 8 percent of Kathryn Edin and Laura Lein's sample of welfare-reliant mothers in their study Making Ends Meet reported engaging in underground work, most commonly selling sex. If underreporting of income explains the rising prevalence of extreme poverty in the United States, then this may be a cause of serious concern. Another possibility is that, in some cases, workers at a job who are off the books may report income in the SIPP but may not be able to use it to claim refundable tax credits. This would lead to an upward bias of the estimated impact of the EITC and other refundable tax credits on extreme poverty.

The descriptive analyses presented here cannot clarify the exact causal mechanisms that have led to such a sharp uptick in extreme poverty in the United States. We hypothesize that the virtual disappearance of a cash safety net for nonworkers has played an important role, combined with overall slow economic growth during the 2000s, which culminated in the major job losses of the Great Recession. However, the primary purpose of the current descriptive analysis is to document the rise in extreme poverty over the past 15 years, to show the potential effect that means-tested income transfer programs are having on this trend, and to call for more research. According to our estimates, a growing population of children experience spells with virtually no income, and more research, both quantitative and qualitative, is needed to examine this. Future research should more fully account for the causal mechanisms leading to the rise in extreme poverty and further build knowledge regarding what circumstances at the household level tend to precipitate a spell of extreme poverty and how households survive during such spells.

It is clear that the United States's current major safety-net programs are playing a vital role at the very bottom of the income distribution, especially in the aftermath of the Great Recession, and that they are buffering households against some of the hardship they would otherwise face. However, it would be wrong to conclude that the US safety net is strong, or even adequate, when the number and proportion of households with children surviving on less than \$2 per day has risen so dramatically over the past 15 years, even after accounting for means-tested transfers.

NOTE

H. Luke Shaefer is an assistant professor at the University of Michigan School of Social Work and a research affiliate at the National Poverty Center at the University of Michigan Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy. His research interests focus on the effectiveness of public programs in serving low-income working families, especially unemployment insurance and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program. He received his PhD in social service administration from the University of Chicago.

Kathryn Edin is professor of public policy and management at the Harvard Kennedy School and a research affiliate at the National Poverty Center at the University of Michigan Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy. Her research focuses on urban poverty and family life, social welfare, housing, child support, and nonmarital childbearing. She received her PhD in sociology from Northwestern University.

H. Luke Shaefer's time spent on this project was funded in part by a cooperative research contract (58-5000-0-0083) between the National Poverty Center (NPC) at the University of Michigan and the US Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service (ERS) Food and Nutrition Assistance Research Program (FANRP). The ERS project representative is Alisha Coleman-Jensen. The views expressed are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the NPC, ERS, or USDA. The authors thank Sheldon Danziger, Christopher Jencks, Julia Henly, Tim Smeeding, Bridget Lavelle, and Matthew Rutledge for helpful comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this work. All mistakes belong to the authors alone.

REFERENCES

Ben-Shalom, Yonaton, Robert Moffitt, and John Scholz. 2012. Chapter 22 in "An Assessment of the Effectiveness of Anti-poverty Programs in the United States." *Oxford Handbook of the Economics of Poverty*, edited by Philip N. Jefferson. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blank, Rebecca M. 2007. "Improving the Safety Net for Single Mothers Who Face Serious Barriers to Work." Future of Children 17 (2): 183–97.

Czajka, John, and Gabrielle Denmead. 2008. "Income Data for Policy Analysis: A Comparative Assessment of Eight Surveys: Final Report." Mathematica Policy Research, Inc.,

- under contract to the Department of Health and Human Services." http://www.mathematica-mpr.com/publications/PDFs/incomedata.pdf.
- Edin, Kathryn, and Laura Lein. 1997. Making Ends Meet. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Gould-Werth, Alix, and Luke Shaefer. 2012. "Unemployment Insurance Participation by Education and by Race and Ethnicity." *Monthly Labor Review*, October 2012, 28–41.
- Loprest, Pamela. 2011. "Disconnected Families and TANF." OPRE Research Brief no. 2, Urban Institute, Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, Washington, DC.
- Mendenhall, Ruby, Kathryn Edin, Susan Crowley, Jennifer Sykes, Laura Tach, Katrin Kriz, and Jeffrey Kling. 2012. "The Role of Earned Income Tax Credit in the Budgets of Low-Income Families." Social Service Review 86 (3): 367–400.
- Meyer, Bruce, Wallace Mok, and James Sullivan. 2009. "The Under-reporting of Transfers in Household Surveys: Its Nature and Consequences." Working Paper no. 15181, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA.
- Moore, Jeffrey. 2008. "Seam Bias in the 2004 SIPP Panel: Much Improved, but Much Bias Still Remains." Survey Methodology Research Report no. 3, US Census Bureau, Statistical Research Division, Washington, DC.
- O'Leary, Christopher, and Kenneth Kline. 2008. "UI as a Safety Net for Former TANF Recipients." Report submitted to the US Department of Health and Human Service by the W. E. Upjohn Institute, no. HS-05-001.
- Ravallion, Martin, Shaohua Chen, and Prem Sangraula. 2008. "Dollar a Day Revisited." Research Working Paper no. 4620, World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Shaefer, Luke. 2010. "Identifying Key Barriers to Unemployment Insurance for Disadvantaged Workers in the United States." *Journal of Social Policy* 39 (3): 439–60.
- Tax Policy Center. 2010. *Tax Facts on Historical EITC*. Washington, DC: Tax Policy Center. http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/taxfacts/displayafact.cfm?Docid=37.
- Turner, Lesley, Sheldon Danziger, and Kristin Seefeldt. 2006. "Failing the Transition from Welfare to Work: Women Chronically Disconnected from Employment and Cash Welfare." Social Science Quarterly 87 (2): 227–49.

Social Inequality in a Bonded Community: Community Ties and Villager Resistance in a Chinese Township

HAIJING DAI Chinese University of Hong Kong

ABSTRACT This article examines the processes, mechanisms, and outcomes of tie-based village life in W Township in north China through an ethnographic lens and explores how bonding in community networks influences villagers in the context of the emerging Chinese market economy and increasing social stratification in their home villages. While responsive village communities, based on family and personal ties, protect villagers in the postsocialist political economy and provide some public welfare programs, they limit the means and scope of villager resistance to the powerful in the countryside in search of social justice. This article suggests that the rights-based perspective that focuses on institutional equality and democratic participation needs to be integrated into the decentralized community-based approach to welfare, which has gained in popularity in both academic writing and social policy practices since the late twentieth century, to fulfill the potential of communities in building a just world.

INTRODUCTION

The global trend of retrenchment in the welfare state has made community-based service programs at the local level increasingly popular in policy discourse. In order to reform the welfare state, which is often associated with dependency, deteriorated family values, and bureaucratic inefficiency (Castles 1998), policy campaigns in many industrialized nations highlight care provision in grassroots communities (for a review, see Goldberg 2002). During the 1996 transition from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families in the United States, President Bill Clinton declared that the ultimate goal of this shift was to

Social Service Review (June 2013). © 2013 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved. 0037-7961/2013/8702-0003\$10.00

promote not only self-sufficiency but also private donations and the revival of community organizations in service provision through the Charitable Choice initiatives. In the United Kingdom, the New Labour approach also called for morals of self-reliance, family values, and grassroots traditions to replace state welfare (Myles and Quadagno 2002).

China started a series of economic and political reforms in the late 1970s, and as with governments elsewhere in the world, the postsocialist Chinese state began to shift welfare responsibilities from the central government to local communities. From 1979 to 1997, the central budget for social welfare services and social relief shrank from .58 percent of the gross domestic product to .19 percent, despite accelerated economic growth during this period (Shang 2001). This means that while the central state shifts the responsibilities of provision to grassroots organizations, it does not supply them with sufficient funds (Gustafsson and Zhong 2000). Meanwhile, the government emphasizes the principles of self-support, family care, and mutual help within local communities and promotes these values in central policy documents (Hebel 2003). The reform policies particularly target the rural population in village communities. The government introduced state incentives for rural entrepreneurship, mass election of village leaders, and local democratic institutions to the villagers to encourage village self-governance and grassroots autonomy in welfare design and service provision (Shang and Wu 2004).

Despite the idealistic vision of Chinese villages as egalitarian and integrated communities, villagers in China live in hierarchical patron-client relations with local cadres (ganbu—what villagers in China usually call their leaders; Oi 1985), experience group conflicts (Cohen 1990), and express discontent through political action (Burns 1988). This was true even during the high points of the socialist transformation, such as the Great Leap Forward (Yang 1996) and the Cultural Revolution era (Yan 2003). While the emerging market economy accelerates social stratification in village communities and the postsocialist political reforms experiment with democratic practices in the countryside, policy makers need to scrutinize how villagers receive protective care and articulate grievances in their grassroots rural communities before promoting the community-based welfare approach. This article examines the current power structure in W Township in northern China and how intimate ties and villager resistance shape community protection, which will shed light on the potential benefits and

risks of emphasizing local communities as the core providers of welfare programs.¹

TIE-BASED VILLAGE LIFE AND THE REFORM ERA

Scholars in and outside of China continually point out that village communities in the Chinese countryside are built on intimate personal networks (King 1985; Fei 1998). Looking more closely at the rural politics in China, the school of Communist Party clientelism notes a hierarchical patron-client distinction in the ties between village cadres and common villagers (Oi 1985). The Party state often relies on the personal ties and informal bonds between cadres and villagers to implement policies and regulate villagers' everyday life (Unger 1989). The patron-client ties are also the informal channel for villagers and clients to express discontent and negotiate with the cadre patrons about state control (Oi 1989).

The solidarity of village communities in the Chinese countryside is shaped by these chains of personal ties between villagers, giving rise to a honeycomb structure of cellular units, typically within village communities and sometimes lineage groups (Shue 1994). Intragroup conflicts are constant and can be fierce (Cohen 1990). In accordance with research on social capital that examines the role of networks in organizing collective action (O'Rourke 2007), scholars studying China note that the interpersonal connections among villagers do not necessarily facilitate the articulation of grievances or the mobilization of resistance. Mechanisms of social networks vary with context (O'Brien 2008): connections among villagers can help the recruitment of participants in a protest in one locality but hinder the mobilization in another.

In the midst of postsocialist economic and political reforms, the combination of market development and governance negotiation has precipitated changes in the power structure in Chinese villages, evinced in both tie-based personal interactions (Yan 2003) and community planning (Li 1997). Market competitiveness and economic stratification have dissipated the rudimentary "unconscious collectivity" of villagers under state socialism (Kelliher 1992, 30), and the new democratic procedures and institutions present challenges to the traditional authority in the rural society

^{1.} Pseudonyms are used for the places and the people in the study to ensure confidentiality.

(Horselev 2001). Neocommunitarian scholars view villages as communities with strong cultural and moral bindings, which restrain liberal individualism, cultivate responsible citizenship, and produce better systems of resource allocation and public welfare (Dwyer 2004). Some neocommunitarians further believe that the emphasis on responsibility and solidarity in such communities can be compatible with market neoliberalism and, therefore, that these communities can survive drastic social and economic changes (Jessop and Sum 2006). Other researchers suggest that the neoliberal reforms, particularly the market economy, began by being exceptions (Ong 2006) but profoundly reconfigured the power relations between the governing and the governed and transformed everyday life in China. This article, based on ethnographic data collected in the villages of W Township, scrutinizes the patterns of tie-based village life in rural China in the new era and examines how villagers cope with social inequality and formulate resistance plans in their community networks. Whether rural communities in contemporary China can be the major designers and providers of social assistance and social service in the decentralized welfare system is at the core of these inquiries.

RESEARCH ON W TOWNSHIP

Between 2006 and 2008, I made several research trips to W Township, which belongs to Q County in Hebei Province and consists of 15 natural villages with a population of roughly 20,000. Some colleagues at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences led me to the villages through personal networks, and I stayed in the township for 8 months doing ethnographic fieldwork. W Township is a typical rural town in that area: it is a convenient distance to cities and has some established local factories, and the majority of the villagers stay in their home villages farming while taking up some nonagricultural jobs. It does not stand out in Q County or in the prefectural city (*dijishi*, a bureaucratic level in China that governs multiple counties or small cities) in economic growth or political progressiveness.² The township enjoys a combination of agricultural production and industrialization, but it is neither extremely prosperous countryside nor abandoned rural land whose residents join the migrant labor force. Qual-

^{2.} W Township may be very different from rural towns in south China or in the more remote inland provinces. The author has no intention of generalizing the place to represent the whole of vast rural China.

itative data for the study were gathered in three different ways: participant observation with extensive field notes, in-depth audio-recorded interviews, and archives of village meeting minutes and local governmental documents.

Participant observation was the primary method used to gather data, given that the villagers often resisted sitting down for formal interviews, believing they would require oral eloquence. By joining them in their daily life, I was able to collect information and understand their thoughts and feelings through informal interactions. When incidents and events relevant to the study took place in the villages, I interviewed the villagers involved and asked them specific questions regarding those events, but in-depth interviews were a supplementary method, in order to fully understand the observation data. I adopted snowball sampling to find the interviewees, asking the villagers to refer me to the people that I wanted or needed to meet. In total, I completed 59 interviews in W Township: 45 of the interviewees were male, while 14 were female; their age ranged from 18 to 65; 3 of them (all local officials) attended college, 12 graduated from high school, 27 received a middle school education, 13 completed primary school, and 4 were illiterate; 36 of them were members of the Chinese Communist Party. Male interviewees constitute the majority of the sample. In rural China, women often withdraw from talking about things outside the household, politics in particular: when I visited a villager family, the wife always pushed the husband to the front for the interview. Similarly, the villagers often directed me to the cadres because they assumed that I needed official explanation. All the county and township officials and almost all the village cadres interviewed are Party members, so the percentage of Party membership in the sample is higher than the average in rural China. Hence, the composition of the interviewees fails to represent the population structure in the township, especially in gender and Party membership, but the observation data do not, as I was able to reach women and common villagers by informal chatting and observation. This was the main method of data collection of the research, and villagers' views and perceptions are present in the ethnographic data for the study. Finally, I also studied the local archives to understand the political and social contexts of the township and to complement the field data.

The analysis aims to uncover mechanisms and forces in the social processes structuring village life and to extend the existing literature on communal living. I used the extended case study approach suggested by Michael Burawoy (1998), which guided me to embrace the full context of the field

sites and my role as a participant in the ethnography, while reflecting on the possible effects of my own perspectives. Data from the different sources were coded for over 50 hypothetically important elements, such as personal bonding in villages, protection from networks, expression of discontent, and resistance in different forms. I then analyzed the coded data to explore the dynamics in village life in W Township and how interpersonal ties among villagers protect their interest while restricting their expression of resistance and to identify subsequent implications for theories of community-based policy making and social inequality.

A PROTECTIVE TIE-BASED COMMUNITY

Like many places in the postreform Chinese countryside, W Township is becoming more urban and modern. With convenient access to a major national route, the township has experienced a high rate of economic growth in the postsocialist era (Hebei Provincial Bureau of Statistics 2008), as villagers engage in various business activities to increase their family income. Grassroots political reforms, which began in the area in the late 1990s, guaranteed villagers the right to elect their village leaders and to participate in decision making in the newly established democratic village councils. In order to obtain lasting electoral support, village governments are under pressure to satisfy the community's needs and offer sustainable welfare programs.

However, in spite of the institutional democratic measures, villagers have maintained their reliance on and belief in personal ties in each village community. Both village leaders and common villagers repeatedly told me in our conversations that family and personal networks are their most cherished assets. In the village council, when leaders request support to use the collective fund, or solicit mandatory household contributions for public projects, they seldom adopt the discourse of institutional democracy, which focuses on rational individual choices, voting practices, and the rule of majority. Instead, the leaders emphasize the intimate bonds among villagers, embedded in their networks of personal ties and moral obligations to one another, in order to convince the villagers that they should fulfill shared goals and take care of vulnerable groups as legitimate members of the village community. Even though state funding was cut during the welfare reform, the village communities still managed to establish many public programs and projects, including neatly paved

country roads, functioning drainage systems, regular provision of purified drinking water,³ nice kindergartens, tidy medical stations, clean public restrooms, large computer rooms with public personal computers, activity rooms for the elderly, newly renovated commercial squares, and cash assistance to needy families. This was done mainly with locally mobilized resources and some matching funds from the upper-level government. Villagers voluntarily contributed money and free labor to those projects, citing the main reasons for their generosity as "maintenance of a decent relationship with other households," "respect for the village cadres," and "villager responsibility."

The postsocialist Chinese government still requires households to register as either urban or rural for the state record, and rural citizens continue to be marginalized as second-class citizens, discriminated against, and excluded from educational opportunities and welfare entitlements (Whyte 2010). The cohesive village communities often serve as a protective umbrella for the villagers, who cling to local networks of personal ties as a strategy to survive. Many villager families are able to start businesses because they receive the initial investments from fellow villagers. The market in postsocialist rural China is not yet fully fledged, so unexpected risks and harassments from market administrators are unavoidable. Thus, villagers rely on their well-connected village cadres, with whom they have close personal ties, to assuage their anxieties. The village cadres, many of whom have been Party officials from the socialist to the postsocialist era, have the ability to socialize with the local officials, get around market rules and policies, and negotiate with the market administration to assure the interests of the villagers. For example, they use those skills to help poultry farm owners pass annual county inspections on the quality of their products, renew licenses for truck drivers at a low cost, settle conflicts between business households and the arbitrary market administrations, and get market information from the local governments (e.g., policy changes in price control) to lower the risks for family businesses.

Villagers also use community networks to cope with the implementation of state policies. When unwelcome central policies come to the grass-

^{3.} Water in the area contains excessive fluorine and is harmful to the dental health of human beings even when it is boiled. It needs to be purified before drinking or being used for cooking.

^{4.} Interview in Upper-Gao Village, W Township, Q County, 6/1/2007.

roots level, the villagers trust the cadres to seek help from township and county officials they know in person, find loopholes in the policies, and invent creative but legal ways of deviance. The infamous policy of family planning in rural China is often the target of violation. For example, Chu Can, a villager in Chu Village, already had two girls but was expecting a third child in the summer of 2006. The Party secretary of his village helped him obtain a medical certificate from the county hospital, verifying that his second daughter had eye birth defects—despite the fact that the little girl has perfect eyesight—and handed it in person to the Office of Family Planning in the county. A birth permit for Chu Can's third child was granted in 2 weeks.

Another common practice is to fake the residence of the household in the home village of the mother, while the family lives in the father's village, and register the disallowed child there. Through local matchmakers, the villagers tend to marry people in the same county, where the cadres of the villages know each other quite well, so this method of getting around the family-planning policy is often viable. For instance, Li Bao of Willow-Tree Village and his wife Shen Chun from River-End Village were expecting a second child in the summer of 2007. The village Party secretary of Willow-Tree Village, who represented the couple, warmly invited the village cadres of River-End Village to dinner and requested paperwork from them to prove that the family actually lived in River-End with no child registered in that village. After the couple treated the cadres to good food and wine, the Party secretary of River-End Village signed the written proof with the seal of the village Party branch. The son of Li Bao and Shen Chun was registered in Willow-Tree Village in 2004, and their daughter was successfully registered in River-End Village in 2007, although the family lived in Willow-Tree Village the whole time.

The political reforms, which started in the Chinese countryside in the late 1990s, mandate that rural officials supervise the implementation of the family-planning policies in a civilized, nonviolent manner.⁵ The county and the prefectural city governments send officers down to the villages periodically to double check the outcomes of family planning. They randomly pick households to visit and ask villagers whether the official rec-

^{5.} This is not to deny the extremely uncivilized enforcement of family planning against rural women in many Chinese villages. However, such incidents were not observed in W Township.

ords accurately represent the family size and circumstances of their neighbors. Through personal networks, villagers in the same village usually learn the appropriate words to respond to the officers and cover for one another with those stories for the disallowed children of their fellow villagers. Evidence of violation is "extremely difficult to gather," as one county official claimed, because of the "cohesiveness and solidarity in the villages."

As the goal of survival in the political economy is recognized and collectively shared among the villagers in W Township, their solid and responsive village communities offer valuable protection and welfare provision to the marginalized rural citizens in China. In other words, the village communities can penetrate the urban-rural dichotomy of the hierarchical social division by offering marginalized rural villagers protection (Willis 1981). When community ties successfully help villagers solve grievances, the villagers show an apparent sense of security, dignity, and empowerment. In our conversations, villagers commented on how they felt glad and proud to live in the countryside now because, with the protection of their personal and family ties in the village, they are no longer doomed to be insulted, offended, and harmed. The recent political reforms, which introduced democratic institutions and processes to W Township, not only further bonded the villagers in village councils but also lowered the cost of mobilizing community resources. Villagers previously used family resources to maintain their client-patron relationships with the village cadres (e.g., Oi 1985). Now they no longer have to bribe the village cadres with cash or expensive gifts in order to receive favors because the cadres depend on their political support to keep their posts and achieve promotion. They are more willing than before to organize the networks of ties in the villages to solve the problems for the villagers. For example, in Chu Village, when Li Xuecheng asked the Party secretary to assist him with the annual chicken farm inspection, all he brought were two packets of inexpensive cigarettes for the secretary's husband; in River-End Village, when Yang Ai made the request to the village head for a birth permit for his son, all he had with him were respectful manners. The China National Survey on Inequality and Distributive Justice finds that villagers in China, who are supposedly discriminated against and oppressed, report a higher level of satisfaction and lower level of anger than their urban counterparts

^{6.} Interview in W Township, Q County, 6/2/2006.

(Han and Whyte 2009). The support they obtain from their tie-based rural communities is a reasonable explanation for this result, as a living example of the ideas and theories of some communitarian scholars (e.g., Putnam 2000).

However, conflicts of interest among villagers in different social groups complicate this idealistic picture of communal living. Even in a society that deeply appreciates personal ties, when vulnerable groups seek justice through family and individual networks, community solidarity can also restrict and silence the voices of resistance and of the powerless.

ENTREPRENEURS AND VILLAGE CADRES: THE NEW POWER IN W TOWNSHIP

The postsocialist reforms introduced a booming market economy to W Township, and for fortunate entrepreneurs, business success brought them not only family wealth but also political empowerment and social status in their hometown. The newly emerged economic elite, together with the more traditional power of the village cadres, constitute the top strata in the new political structure of W Township. The rural entrepreneurs in the township opened medium-size factories and companies along the national route and left behind agricultural labor by leasing their family farmland to other villagers. Although their enterprises require little technological advancement and remain labor intensive, the tax revenues they generate are a crucial income source for local governments. Since the tax-for-fee reform and the subsequent abolishment of agricultural taxes, county-, township-, and village-level Party states in rural China are faced with serious fiscal crises (Oi and Zhao 2007; Chen 2008).7 The rural governments urgently need to "attract business investments" (zhaoshangvinzi; author's translation) and regard the entrepreneurs as local heroes who sponsor the social development in the area (Tsai 2002).

Politically, successful entrepreneurs often sit in the People's Congress or the Committee of Political Consultative Conference at the prefectural city or the provincial level, and the county officials count on them to win

^{7.} In the mid-1990s, the central government implemented the tax-for-fee reform in rural China to decrease the financial burdens of the villagers. Local governments were allowed to collect only agricultural taxes but no additional fees. During the first decade of the twenty-first century, agricultural taxes were abolished as a whole in the new rural reforms.

policy support and funding from upper-level government for the local area. As important political and economic patrons of the rural society, the entrepreneurs gained remarkable power during the reforms and became a new ruling group. The dependency is mutual; the wealthy entrepreneurs still need governmental officials, particularly village cadres at the grassroots level, to assist them with their business development in the township (Andreas 2009). The authority of the village cadres is usually strongly rooted in rural society. In their careers, which can be decades long, cadres accumulate strong connections with the villagers and establish what Max Weber (1964, 130) would call "traditional authority." Meanwhile, their relationships with other local cadres and township officials give them political capital on which villagers may rely for survival. Democratization reinforces the legitimacy of their power, as the cadres managed to win the recent democratic village elections with those connections, which makes them appealing partners for local entrepreneurs. The current private enterprises in W Township, like the former township and village enterprises in rural China, use villages as recruiting units for cheap and obedient workers. According to their contracts of land use, when hiring laborers, the first priority goes to the villages from which they rent the land, second priority goes to the other villages in the same township, and then priority goes to the outside villages. The village cadres, informed of these opportunities for employment, use their personal ties to contact the residents of the village who might be interested, such as the local farmers in need of supplementary income. Accompanied by their cadres, the workers, who cherish the opportunities and want to maintain trust with their communities, usually sign simple and informal contracts with private enterprises. These typically contain merely a fixed amount of wage per day, per piece of product, or per transportation trip, and health benefits, safety insurance, or social security welfare are largely unheard of. When labor disputes occur, the village cadres try to buffer the discontent of the workers and to find an acceptable and peaceful solution in collaboration with the economic elites.

The rural entrepreneurs take advantage of the organization of labor in the villages to pursue profits and recognize the efforts of the village cadres to maintain the system that serves their best interest. One of the entrepreneurs said during an interview, "The rural people can be wild as they do not receive proper education to be civilized and understanding. Sometimes it is unimaginably hard to communicate with the workers, but fortunately, they still listen to the village cadres and trust the connections in their communities. . . . The assistance from the village cadres is critical."

RESISTING THE POWERFUL: LIMITATIONS OF COMMUNITY TIES

The majority of the villagers in W Township live very different lives from the successful local entrepreneurs. The villagers may have small family businesses (nothing like the organized enterprises of the entrepreneurs) or work in the local factories and companies, while keeping some agricultural production to insulate against market risks and supplement income. They recognize the successful entrepreneurs and the village cadres as members of the community and see the communal way of living a source of job opportunities and political and economic protection.

However, conflicts of interest between the villagers and the cadres and entrepreneurs persist in bonded village communities. Although the implementation of some state policies, such as family planning, is less strict in rural China than in cities, the more recent policy campaigns of the central state, which might negatively affect the villagers, still require the village cadres to respond with satisfying outcomes to placate upper-level officials. Labor disputes constantly take place in the factories owned by entrepreneurs, and they push the village cadres to orchestrate settlements in their favor. The village cadres, however, must appease three conflicting groups. The central government demands social harmony in the countryside, so village cadres must control the conflicts and suppress any possibility of unrest if they want to retain their post. Meanwhile, since the partnership with the successful entrepreneurs is one of the most valuable resources of the cadres, they need to defend the interests of the economic elites but without inciting protests from the villagers. To manage these objectives in governance, the village cadres in W Township often maneuver between and manipulate community ties to obtain the consent and compliance of the villagers.

While discontent with the more powerful members of their communities may grow among the common villagers, close ties and responsibil-

^{8.} Interview in Lai Village, W Township, Q County, 7/17/2007.

ity for community solidarity often restrain resistance and limit villagers' expression of grievances. It is socially unwise to offend the village cadres because such behavior challenges community cohesiveness and could cost the villagers support from social circles. Therefore, it is not uncommon to see villagers compromise and sacrifice their own family interest for the community and the safety net that its ties provide.

Since the cadres bring many favors to the villagers through enhanced community ties, the villagers feel obliged to support the village government. When different groups propose distinct plans for local development, village cadres usually choose the option whose implementation is least costly for the village government. Although national policies such as family planning can be boldly violated in the villages these days, the decisions of the village cadres, at the lowest level of the bureaucratic system, are often unavoidable. The example below, taken from field notes, illustrates an attempted yet failed resistance to the village government:

After a heavy rainstorm flooded Big-Forest Village in May 2006, a villagers' meeting was called to discuss the drainage system in the village. Some representatives proposed to widen the current drains yet some others thought new drains should be dug. Considering the financial budgets of the village, the Party secretary agreed with the former. Deng Wen, whose home is distant from the current drains, suffered loss in the storm and was unhappy about this suggestion. He said, "I think we have too few drains in the village. Is it possible to build some new ones?" Although he was eager to direct the discussion to the other option, his tone was still respectful with no rudeness. "But you have to understand that we do not have that much collective fund, we need to pave some new roads this year," said the secretary. "I heard the village is going to rent some collective land to a villager to start an orchard, when will we have that rent money?" Deng Wen asked in the same tone sounding a bit desperate. The Party secretary, annoyed by the push, raised his voice a bit and said, "Nothing is settled yet, you know that we are still discussing the details, do not start the rumor!" Deng Wen said nothing more and lit a cigarette, and the meeting [participants] decided to widen the current drains that day.

After the meeting, Deng Wen talked to me on his way back home. That was my first month in the township and he, at the moment, as many other villagers, thought I was a naïve urban university student who came to the area during the summer vacation to tour the countryside. He seriously educated me not to misunderstand the conversations at the meeting or the complexity of village politics.

"The secretary is a very good person and has done lots of good things for our village. You just need to know how to work with him, not to annoy him, and know when to shut up. . . . It is useless to continue arguing with him as most of the other villagers will agree with him anyway, and I will look bad to be that rude. . . . I can live with the village drainage system and just wait and see if the widening would work."

Villagers, when coping with problems they encounter in local government, usually demonstrate self-awareness, understanding the importance of maintaining connections with village cadres and other villagers and the high cost of threatening community cohesiveness. When villagers are not so conscientious, the village cadres, with the assistance of other members in the community, remind the villagers of their responsibility in their community networks and pressure them to cooperate.

During the national policy campaign of the New Socialist Countryside in 2007, households with more than 10 pieces of poultry or livestock were required to move away from the village center in an effort to beautify the rural environment. Unlike family-planning policy, this new campaign had clear deadlines, and the county government linked the implementation of the policy with the cadres' salaries and their promotion evaluations. This strong incentive from the state ensured that village cadres in the township quickly set up to facilitate and compensate family moves. In Fu Village, Fu Yun was given a difficult decision: he had to either get rid of the few hens and ducks that he owned or move out of the residential center. He wanted to keep his poultry for food and income and found moving too costly for his family. Therefore, he attempted to reject both options and was approached by the village government:

The village Party secretary, accompanied by Fu Yun's cousin, paid a visit to his house one evening to persuade him. Both of them talked actively in their conversations with Fu Yun. "The village government treats people nicely, as you must know. See how we help each other in this village all the time? But we need the support from the villagers too because only with that could we keep the village government running. . . . Fu Yun, you are a clear-minded man and

^{9.} Field notes and interview in Big-Forest Village, W Township, Q County, 5/24/2006.

you must know that it has to be a two-way road, right?" Fu Yun became silent upon hearing the words and it was clear that he would have to pick one of the two options in order to sustain his ties in the community, which permitted the illegal birth of his younger son. Two weeks later, he sold his hens and ducks at a low price in order to keep his residence in the village center.¹⁰

Cohesive community networks, in these cases, were important tools of the village cadres in obtaining compliance from the villagers.

In the factories and companies of the successful entrepreneurs, villagers in W Township work with little training and job protection. Devastating accidents, as well as disputes over wage and working environments, are also common in the villages. When difficult circumstances arise, entrepreneurs work with village cadres to suppress resistance among the villagers and compel them to accept the limited compensation.

In 2007, the only son of a couple in Bird-Rest Village, who was 19 years old and worked as a truck driver in a local transportation company, was killed in a highway accident in a neighboring province. As the employment contract did not include any form of insurance, the owner offered to compensate the family ¥5,000 in cash plus funeral coverage. The devastated couple was left unsatisfied with the settlement and paid a gang group from a local secret society to violently break into the house of the company owner and smash every piece of the furniture.11 The police were called in, and the cadres of the village, together with some other villagers acquainted with the family, mediated between the couple and the transportation company owner. In the end, the parents were pushed to accept the offer of the company owner, and in return, the entrepreneur would not sue them for destroying his property. During an interview filled with tears and emotions, I asked the couple whether they knew they could sue the boss of the company for not providing insurance to his employees.

^{10.} Field notes in Fu Village, W Township, Q County, 6/5/2007.

^{11.} Members of the local secret society are young male villagers with limited income, and they are loosely organized in the society. They lead a normal life, farming the fields or working in the local factories, but come together to perform tasks for people for payment on the side. The society leader is well connected with the local police and officials, which makes it difficult to crack down. At the same time, many villagers find the society to be a defender of disappearing rural values and a means to fulfill justice.

The father answered slowly, "To sue the boss in the court? Yes, we thought about that. We consulted with the village Party secretary and he told us that because we did not have a formal contract with the company, it would be very difficult to get a better compensation than what the boss offered. . . . We do not have any connections in the legal system and how can we win? . . . You know the Zhang family living on the next street? Their boy was killed while driving a truck last year. They took the case to the county court but were denied a better compensation than the boss's offer. They ended up compromising with the boss outside the court after all the troubles. You see, no use." He took a deep sigh and shook his head. . . . "I heard about it from my cousin and he heard it from the village head. He told me that the village Party secretary took the family to the county court and helped with the paperwork. . . . What is the point to talk to that family directly? They are illiterate and the secretary knows better than them. That is how we proceed things here—we are farmers, we know how to work in the fields but not how to deal with those state branches and departments. We all turn to the village cadres first for help. . . . They will try to help and that is the only way to get things done."12

Villagers' trust in and reliance on their close ties with the cadres often prevents them from articulating their grievances in the formal yet intimidating legal system and taking the cases to the local court.

Sometimes, the partnership between village cadres and successful entrepreneurs becomes too apparent to ignore, and the frustrated villagers may openly challenge the cadres and try to force them to represent their interest in the negotiation with the economic elites. But the authority of the cadres is so deeply embedded in the networks of ties in the communities that they are still able to dissipate villager resistance and defend the legitimacy of the entrepreneurs.

As an example, there used to be a heavily polluting lumber factory near Chu Village, which failed to pass the provincial environmental inspection in 2005. After a long negotiation between the factory owner and the village government, the factory agreed to stop its production line in 2006 and promised to move to cleaner industries. However, the enforcement of this agreement was slow, and there was no decisive date of closure or transfer, although production was temporarily ceased.

One afternoon in June 2007, when Li Huang and his wife were working in their wheat fields, black smoke emitted from the factory covered the fields. Their farmland was close to the factory and in 2006, the village Party secretary, Wang Mei, repeatedly guaranteed the family that the agreement would take care of their concerns.

Grabbing some wheat in the fields, whose beautiful gold color had been turned into dirty grey, the couple angrily smashed into Wang Mei's office. "Look at what the lumber factory has done!" Li Huang put the wheat on her desk and cried loudly. "Is this place still operating?" Wang Mei was chatting with some other villagers and they were all astonished to see the couple in such manners. "According to the agreement, they should have stopped last year," Wang Mei explained to them. "What kind of agreement do you have with them?" Li Huang's wife almost shouted. "They are destroying the crops! They must have bribed you, right? How much did you get? If they do not stop today, we are going to the county or even Beijing to get a fair judgment!"

"Don't ever threaten me with appealing to the higher authorities [shangfang; author's translation]!" Wang Mei raised her voice as well. "All right, all right!" Chu Fu, the village head, who happened to be in the office, interrupted. "Have a seat, Huang, and have some hot water." Chu Shan, a truck driver, immediately poured some hot water into two cups and handed them to the couple. "If the factory breaks the agreement, it is not the fault of the secretary, right?" he said. "But we can definitely talk to them and stop their production." Li Xuecheng, a chicken farm owner and a distant relative of Li Huang, patted him on his shoulder and joined in, "Brother, look into my eyes, please just calm down." Li Huang and his wife looked into the villagers' faces and became wordless. They sat in the office, drinking water, and eventually got an oral promise from Wang Mei that she would talk to the factory owner and solve the problem in three days. The couple soon left with the grey wheat in hands. Although they were still uncertain whether the smog emission would stop, they dropped the plan of petition.

"Among those villagers in the office, some are neighbors, some are friends, and some are relatives. We were suddenly opposing so many acquainted people, but we were alone," Li Huang's wife told me when she was harvesting the wheat in the fields that evening. "We realized that if we insisted on petition, life would be very miserable for us in this village. . . . We then decided to harvest more quickly so that the smog does not harm the crops even if it comes again tomorrow." ¹³

^{13.} Field notes in Chu Village, W Township, Q County, 6/11/2007.

For villagers who may conceive plans of overt resistance, it is too costly to put their community networks and social acceptance in the home village at risk, and so these plans are rarely put into practice.

Solidarity and cohesiveness in village communities protects the villagers in W Township by offering a buffer and a safety net, but it also obliges them to some suppressive social norms, including consenting to the decisions of the village cadres and following unfair rules made by the factory owners. Grievances can accumulate, and villagers may develop plans of resistance, but the bonding of individuals and families through community ties often restrains their actions and silences their voices. The communal way of life imposes limitations on the villagers in W Township—faced with increasing social stratification and inequality in their own communities—in their expression of different views and search for social justice.

Communitarian scholars (e.g., Etzioni, Volmert, and Rothschild 2004) believe that trust and commitment in a cohesive community can protect individual members and attain common goods in the society. They, hence, would appreciate the sense of responsibility and obligation cultivated among villagers and families in W Township, as it constructs community solidarity, successful public welfare, and family security in the villages. However, it compels villagers to recognize the power of the village leaders, who are at the heart of their community ties, and to comply with the majority or the accepted ways of settling problems that the powerful groups in their communities can easily manipulate. The communal bonding in W Township, like a double-edged sword, protects villagers while forming a direct and personal mode of dominance that reinforces social inequality in the rural society (Bourdieu 1977).

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The roles of cohesive and responsive communities in cultivating social responsibility, reviving moral values and norms, and restricting social entitlements are central issues in debates about the changing nature of welfare states (Etzioni et al. 2004). In China, since 2005, the political campaign of the central government to build the New Socialist Countryside has encouraged rural communities to organize local resources, enhance solidarity, and design their own plans of social welfare. Some recent studies reveal that vibrant communitarian collectivity in Chinese villages is able to mobilize alliances among villagers to negotiate with the state for policy

changes (O'Brien and Li 2006) or press for informal accountability of village leaders in providing adequate public goods (Tsai 2007). Close personal and family networks in W Township, echoing the findings of those studies, are able to offer the villagers a community safety net and provide them with some material and psychological benefits. Decades of market reforms, however, are also giving rise to accelerated social stratification and apparent inequality in rural communities. The newly emerged economic elite, through accumulated family wealth, not only control the local industrial production but also exert a large influence on the decision making in the rural political institutions. Together with the traditional village cadres, they form a new ruling class in the countryside that manages to silence or exploit common villagers by manipulating intimate community ties. In the ongoing scholarly discussion of community-based social service and welfare, experiences of the villagers in W Township in rural China can shed light on the empirical processes of tie-based communal life and the meaning of community bonding to individual citizens, social norms, and social change.

Communities in rural China are not yet egalitarian entities; they exhibit social stratification and power inequality. While communitarian thinkers and community-based policy initiatives may emphasize the value of communal moral bonding and personal responsibility to communities, the rights-based perspective advocating for political and economic equality and democratic participation also has a role to play in ensuring individual and community well-being. The concept of human rights here needs to go beyond the "basic human needs" (Doyal and Gough 1991, 3; Nussbaum 2000) or the "minimal moral code" (Walzer 1994, 2), which are often highlighted in the policies of rural development in China, and address institutional citizen rights including civil, political, and social dimensions (Marshall 1950). In order for community members to discuss and resolve conflicting interests, it is important to build a legal system that ensures fair treatment, a political structure that encourages democratic dialogues and civic participation, and a social welfare system that provides equitable individual and family entitlements. Rights-based institutions may help foster the sense of security needed to help villagers express discontent and articulate different needs in their communities, instead of suppressing them, for survival.

In rural China, while political campaigns can encourage tie-based village communities to provide protection to satisfy the needs of survival of

the villagers, policy support is necessary to develop an independent legal system and build grassroots democratic institutions to guarantee the citizen rights of the rural population. Both the economic elite and the rural government today can still intervene in the proceedings of the local courts, which inhibits intimidated villagers from using the law to defend their interests. Rule of law and legal independence, especially in the field of labor protection, are urgently needed in the countryside for the villagers to have the power needed to express their grievances. As John Kennedy (2007, 456) points out, the political reforms in the villages of rural China merely fulfill "cosmetic" democracy, wherein common villagers exchange their votes for personal favors from village leaders. Civic participation and rational democratic decision making remain distant and irrelevant in the grassroots political institutions. However, a well-established social welfare system that eliminates discrimination against the rural citizens and guarantees their voter enfranchisement could empower the villagers in democratic participation. Educational programs to raise the consciousness of the leaders regarding citizen rights, equal participation, and power limits may be difficult to carry out in Chinese villages but are crucial for villagers to enjoy "real" democracy (456) in which differences are discussed and conflicts are resolved, not just suppressed.

Responsive and cohesive communities like Chinese villages, which safeguard members' interests and cultivate shared responsibilities, can be important social forces to promote individual well-being, public welfare, and social change, but as argued in this article, grassroots community members should be able to count on more than their local community cadres. Institutions based on a rights-based perspective of political and economic equality are also critical to the well-being of individuals and families, to the success of community-based programs, and to the realization of true democracy. Future discussions of community-centered welfare reforms should critically interrogate the strengths and limitations of these approaches to fulfill their goals at individual, community, and institutional levels and achieve political, social, and economic equality.

NOTE

Haijing Dai is an assistant professor in social work at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. She received her PhD in social work and sociology from the University of Michigan. Her research examines the organization and mobilization of grassroots communities in the de-

livery of localized social welfare programs. She is also interested in women's organizations and their roles in social and political change. The research work for this article was generously sponsored by a direct grant and the Madam Tan Jen Chiu Fund of the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

REFERENCES

Andreas, Joel. 2009. Rise of the Red Engineers: The Cultural Revolution and the Origins of China's New Class. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burawoy, Michael. 1998. "The Extended Case Method." Sociological Theory 16 (1): 4-33.

Burns, John. 1988. *Political Participation in Rural China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Castles, Francis G. 1998. Comparative Public Policy. Cheltenham: Edward & Elgar.

Chen, An. 2008. "The 1994 Tax Reform and Its Impact on China's Rural Fiscal Structure." *Modern China* 34 (3): 303–43.

Cohen, Myron L. 1990. "Lineage Organization in North China." *Journal of Asian Studies* 49 (3): 509–34.

Doyal, Len, and Ian Gough. 1991. A Theory of Human Need. London: Macmillan.

Dwyer, Peter. 2004. Understanding Social Citizenship. Bristol: Policy.

Etzioni, Amitai, Drew Volmert, and Elanit Rothschild. 2004. *The Communitarian Reader:* Beyond the Essentials. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield.

Fei, Xiaotong. 1998. Xiang Tu Zhong Guo [Earth-bound China]. Beijing: Peking University Press. Goldberg, Gertrude S. 2002. "Diminishing Welfare: Convergence toward a Liberal Model?"

321–72 in *Diminishing Welfare: A Cross-National Study of Social Provision*, edited by Gertrude S. Goldberg and Marguerite G. Rosentahl. Westport, CT: Auburn House.

Gustafsson, Bjorn, and Wei Zhong. 2000. "How and Why Has Poverty in China Changed? A Study Based on Micro Data for 1988 and 1995." *China Quarterly* 164:983–1006.

Han, Chunping, and Martin K. Whyte. 2009. "The Social Contours of Distributive Injustice Feelings in Contemporary China." 193–212 in *Creating Wealth and Poverty in Post-Socialist China*, edited by Deborah Davis and Feng Wang. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hebei Provincial Bureau of Statistics. 2008. *Hebei Statistical Yearbook 2007.* Beijing: China Statistics.

Hebel, Jutta. 2003. "Social Welfare in Rural China." Journal of Peasant Studies 30:224-51.

Horseley, Jamie. 2001. "Village Elections: Training Ground for Democracy." China Business Review 28 (2): 44–62.

Jessop, Robert, and Ngai Ling Sum. 2006. Beyond the Regulation Approach: Putting Capitalist Economies in Their Place. Cheltenham: Elgar.

Kelliher, Daniel. 1992. Peasant Power in China: The Era of Reform, 1979–1989. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kennedy, John. 2007. "The Face of 'Grassroots Democracy' in Rural China: Real versus Cosmetic Elections." Asian Survey 42 (3): 456–82.

- King, Ambrose. 1985. "The Individual and Group in Confucianism: A Relational Perspective." 57-70 in Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values, edited by Donald Munro. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan.
- Li, Cheng. 1997. Rediscovering China: Dynamics and Dilemmas of Reform. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Marshall, Thomas H. 1950. Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Myles, John, and Jill Quadagno. 2002. "Political Theories of the Welfare State." Social Service Review 76 (1): 34-57.
- Nussbaum, Martha. 2000. Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Brien, Kevin. 2008. Popular Protest in China. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- O'Brien, Kevin, and Lianjiang Li. 2006. Rightful Resistance in Rural China. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oi, Jean. 1985. "Communism and Clientelism: Rural Politics in China." World Politics 37 (2): 238-66.
- ______. 1989. State and Peasant in Contemporary China. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Oi, Jean, and Shukai Zhao. 2007. "Fiscal Crisis in China's Townships: Causes and Consequences." 75-96 in Grassroots Political Reform in Contemporary China, edited by Elizabeth Perry and Merle Goldman. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ong, Aihwa. 2006. Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- O'Rourke, Kevin. 2007. "Culture, Conflict, and Cooperation: Irish Dairying before the Great War." Economic Journal 117:1357-79.
- Putnam, Robert. 2000. Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Shang, Xiaoyuan. 2001. "Moving toward a Multi-Level and Multi-Pillar System: Changes in Institutional Care in Two Chinese Cities." Journal of Social Policy 30 (2): 259-81.
- Shang, Xiaoyuan, and Xiaoming Wu. 2004. "Changing Approaches of Social Protection: Social Assistance Reform in Urban China." Social Policy and Society 3 (3): 259-71.
- Shue, Vivienne. 1994. "State Power and Social Organization in China." 65-88 in State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World, edited by Joel Migdal, Atul Kohli, and Vivienne Shue. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tsai, Lily. 2002. "Cadres, Temples and Lineage Institutions, and Governance in Rural China." China Journal 48:1-27.
- 2007. "Solidarity Group, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China." American Political Science Review 101 (2): 355-72.
- Unger, Jonathan. 1989. "State and Peasant in Post-revolution China." Journal of Peasant Studies 17 (1): 114-36.
- Walzer, Michael. 1994. Thick and Thin: Moral Argument at Home and Abroad. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Weber, Max. 1964. The Theory of Economic and Social Organization. New York: Free Press.

- Whyte, Martin. 2010. Myth of the Social Volcano: Perceptions of Inequality and Distributive Injustice in Contemporary China. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Willis, Paul. 1981. Learning to Labor: How Working-Class Kids Get Working-Class Jobs. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Yan, Yunxiang. 2003. Private Life under Socialism: Love, Intimacy, and Family Change in a Chinese Village, 1949–1999. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Yang, Dali. 1996. Calamity and Reform in China: State, Rural Society, and Institutional Change since the Great Leap Forward. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

The Responsibilities of the Poor: Performing Neoliberal Citizenship within the Bureaucratic Field

ANDREW WOOLFORD AND AMANDA NELUND University of Manitoba

ABSTRACT Social service providers are increasingly encouraged by their funders to help fashion the poor into neoliberal citizens, and this study investigates how this situation may affect the ways in which service users present themselves to service providers when seeking assistance. We suggest that our interview participants, drawn from vulnerable and marginalized populations of Winnipeg, Manitoba, are attuned to the characteristics of neoliberal citizenship that are increasingly valued among social service providers in Winnipeg. Indeed, just as neoliberal policies pressure social service agencies to embrace accountable, business-like, and individualizing models of service, so too are service users encouraged to adapt themselves to the demands of neoliberalism. In this context, our respondents represented themselves as active, prudent, autonomous, responsible, and entrepreneurial in an attempt to fashion an identity worthy of care within the contemporary bureaucratic field.

INTRODUCTION

Distinctions have long been made between the deserving and undeserving poor (see, e.g., Golding and Middleton 1981; Katz 1989; Van Oorschot 2000; Handler and Hasenfeld 2007) but the criteria for being worthy of care are prone to change. Building on Loïc Wacquant's recent work (2009, 2010), we examine how poor and marginalized interview respondents exhibit dispositions of neoliberal citizenship consistent with shifts in the bureaucratic field. Indeed, neoliberal politicians and bureaucrats pressure social service agencies in Winnipeg, Manitoba, to embrace accountable, business-like, and responsibility-inducing models of service (Woolford and Curran 2011, 2013; see also Ilcan and Basok 2004). This pressure is both explicit and implicit: it is felt through funding agreements that require

Social Service Review (June 2013). © 2013 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved. 0037-7961/2013/8702-0004\$10.00

social service agencies to produce evidence of quantifiable outcomes as a result of their funded activities, and when social service providers learn that certain buzz words, such as security, responsibility, and accountability, have immediate cachet with the government representatives from whom they are seeking funds (Woolford and Curran 2011). Likewise, we suggest in this article that service users are encouraged, both explicitly and implicitly, to adapt themselves to the demands of neoliberalism.

According to Wacquant (2010, 213), "Neoliberalism is a transnational political project aiming to remake the nexus of market, state, and citizenship from above." The economic philosophy of neoliberalism originated in the interwar work of Friedrich Hayek, but its practice was refined and instituted in the 1970s and 1980s through the thought of Milton Friedman and the politics of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. According to Wacquant, the primary characteristics of neoliberalism in a society are: economic deregulation; welfare state devolution, retraction, and recomposition; an expansive, intrusive, and proactive penal apparatus; and the cultural trope of individual responsibility (Wacquant 2010). We argue that it is within the sociopolitical context of neoliberalism, and in particular with respect to the cultural trope of individual responsibility, that our respondents represented themselves as good neoliberal citizens. However, we expand this cultural trope to include other common neoliberal values such as active engagement with the world of work, prudent risk management, autonomy from social support, and entrepreneurial acumen. This article thus contributes to Wacquant's work on the punishment of the poor and advanced marginality by illustrating the variety of ways in which marginalized actors might adapt to the neoliberal bureaucratic field, and thereby seek to perform the citizenship qualities necessary to convince gatekeepers that they are worthy of care.1

Interview respondents are drawn from vulnerable and marginalized sectors of Winnipeg's inner-city population through posters placed at nonprofit social service agencies, as well as personal contact with a social service employee who works with the homeless. Most respondents iden-

^{1.} Like Joe Soss, Richard Fording, and Sanford Schram (2011), we seek to examine the everyday practices of social services by borrowing from Foucault-inspired scholars working to assess how poor people are enlisted through their freedom in the project of their own governance. Thus, we import insights from these scholars on the nature of neoliberal citizenship into Wacquant's framework. However, we remain more committed to a Bourdieusian paradigm and working through the notion of the bureaucratic field than is the case for Soss et al.

tified themselves to be of Indigenous heritage, and several cited ongoing struggles with homelessness and substance addiction, including addiction to solvents.² However, though the general public often assumes this group has retreated from mainstream mores and values, it instead mobilizes characteristics of neoliberal or responsible citizenship. Our analysis seeks to understand these self-presentations within a wider context of neoliberal restructuring in a manner that is sensitive to the agency of the poor, as well as the structural forces that shape and guide their interactions with social service agencies.

PERFORMATIVITY AND THE BUREAUCRATIC FIELD

Erving Goffman writes, "When the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, does his behavior as a whole" (Goffman [1959] 1993, 35). Based on this insight, it is no surprise that marginalized individuals draw on pervasive societal values when discussing their lives. Indeed, Goffman's ([1959] 1993, 1974) notions of the definition of the situation (the expectations and preferences each person brings into social interaction and through which participants in this interaction collectively establish its overarching meaning) and frames (schemata of interpretation we carry with us and use to make sense of a complex world) alert us to the ways in which participants in social interaction shape their responses in reaction to assessment of the operative meanings and organizing principles of a given context. Yet, Goffman has a particular focus; he develops these organizing principles largely at the situational level, setting aside the structural influences that impress their order on everyday interactions and provide the conditions under which certain types of performance are considered more valid or valuable than others. Goffman

^{2.} We use the term *Indigenous* to describe the various First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples whose traditional and historical territories fall within what is now Canada. This term is sometimes viewed to be less homogenizing than *Aboriginal*, which is often used to refer to Indigenous peoples as though they are all part of a common group. However, Indigenous shares with Aboriginal the problem of defining Indigenous peoples in relation to the settler population rather than in accordance with their own self-understandings (e.g., Cree, Anishinaabe, etc.). The preference would be to use the latter terms, but, in most cases, interview participants were not forthcoming with their specific Indigenous identities.

(1968) also pays special attention to the ways in which marginalized individuals use techniques such as passing (in which they present themselves as nonstigmatized persons), drawing on their knowledge of the normative world and working to conceal or redirect attention away from their discreditable traits. In this manner, Goffman helps one remain aware of the overarching normative conditions that guide performative actions such as passing; however, he provides little comment on the ways in which structural forms of power and domination condition normative definitions of the situation.

Subsequent scholarship adapts Goffman's perspective to examine the ways in which marginalized inner-city dwellers interpret, make meaning of, and establish a positive sense of self within their everyday lives. For example, David Snow and Leon Anderson (1987) examine how homeless persons construct their identities to negotiate and resist being stigmatized. In particular, they examine three forms of identity talk used by the homeless: distancing (e.g., "I am not like the other homeless guys"), embracement (e.g., of the freedom and creativity of the homeless lifestyle), and fictive storytelling (e.g., embellishment or fabrication of the past or future as a means to promote a positive image of self). Thus, Snow and Anderson show how homeless persons resist their discredited identity through practices of distancing and fictive storytelling, but also valorize this identity by accepting and even promoting certain aspects of homelessness. Aware of the ever-present threat of stigmatization, these individuals protect their identities with specific maneuvers.

Stephen Lankenau (1999b) examines how panhandlers seek to enhance their perceived status in the eyes of passers-by despite their feelings of humiliation and degradation when seeking spare change. According to Lankenau, panhandlers are able to overcome their sense of status degradation in part by forming family-like relationships with passers-by. More specifically, it is through efforts to manage their emotions (e.g., by learning to control them) and identities (e.g., through control of outward appearance) that they attempt status enhancement. Elsewhere, Lankenau (1999a) deploys Goffman's dramaturgical perspective to study the performances of panhandlers as they work to counter the nonperson treatment (Goffman 1963) that they are subject to in their daily lives. According to Lankenau, panhandlers develop repertoires of techniques, acts, pieces, routines that they use to disrupt the blasé attitudes of passers-by and capture

their attention (1999*b*, 190). By such means, they strategically command the human concern and sociability that is more readily offered to the non-stigmatized.

These examples of homelessness research built on Goffman's dramaturgical approach illustrate the agency of the marginalized as they negotiate belittling treatment. The studies offer a rich narrative of how norms and values surrounding issues of poverty and homelessness emerge from complex social interactions between homeless and nonhomeless individuals. However, they also neglect the role that power relations and social structures play in shaping the ways in which homeless identities are perceived and performed. In particular, within institutional contexts such as government offices or social service agencies, marginalized actors are likely to take on very specific roles when they are passing, engaging in identity talk, or countering nonperson treatment (see Smith 1987).

To investigate why service users select and adopt certain roles, we will combine the insights of subjectivist sociology such as Goffman's with analysis of the objective structures that set the stage for subjective interactions. As Pierre Bourdieu (1990) notes, subjectivist interpretations of social phenomena too often simply reverse the errors of objectivist sociology by dispensing with the broader social, cultural, political, economic, and historical contexts. Thus, a fuller account of performances of self and citizenship among the marginalized requires first that we examine the broader constraints that structure these performances, which give them their shape and purpose and which are, in turn, shaped and reshaped by these very performances. Second, we must also remain attentive to the immediate normative context, as well as the variety and complexities of human interaction and interpretation. Such an approach demands that the researcher, in addition to examining the marginalizing gaze that the performance is intended to divert, or the localized definition of the situation and situational frames that the stigmatized individual seeks to grasp, also remain cognizant of the field conditions through which performances and actions are given symbolic value. These structural conditions contribute to our knowledge of what forms of identity are socially valuable and therefore worth performing when seeking access to specific goods, such as social service assistance.

We suggest that the structural context for our interviews is what Bourdieu (1994) refers to as the bureaucratic field. According to Bourdieu, fields are "historically constituted areas of activity with their own specific institutions and their own laws of functioning" (1990, 87). These are rela-

tively autonomous social domains (e.g., law, the economy, the arts, or education) shaped by a distinct logic and a set of rules and regularities (Bourdieu 1990). Moreover, the field is a site of struggle for control over the definition of what is meaningful within its operative space. It is made up of agents who are, to varying degrees, familiar with its logic, rules, and regularities, and who compete with one another for domination within the field. The dominant agents, then, have symbolic power to define the motivational properties of the field and to establish the boundaries of the field—in other words, who is and who is not included in the field's activities.

The bureaucratic field is "a splintered space of forces vying over the definition and distribution of public goods" (Wacquant 2010, 200). It is primarily the domain of the state, and state institutions, but nonprofit social services are located within the bureaucratic field because their activities are funded or facilitated by the state, and their primary impetus is to replace, supplement, or complement programs and responsibilities that might otherwise be perceived to be the sole prerogative of the state (Wacquant 2009).

According to Bourdieu (1998, 2000), the bureaucratic field is characterized by two axes. At one end of the first axis sits the higher state nobility of the political elite, comprising governmental actors in powerful ministries such as finance and justice, who are often committed to implementing the interest-driven policies of socially dominant groups. This nobility therefore typically struggles with the lower state nobility of those government agents whose positions require them to deal more directly with the everyday needs of citizens in areas such as health, education, and housing. Across the other axis, the left and right hands of the state are also in conflict. Whereas the left hand refers to government departments and government-sponsored social service agencies that offer social protection and support (e.g., welfare, housing, and employment), the right hand consists of state and state-supported institutions that represent the might or force of the state, such as state departments of finance that possess the power to impose austerity measures on all other areas of government. The various actors (i.e., upper- and lower-state nobilities) and institutions (i.e., left and right hands) that occupy the bureaucratic field compete with one another for control over public goods and the ability to define the terms and values that will guide state actions. To this extent, the bureaucratic field is often a fractious setting; however, there also are periods when these actors and institutions achieve coherence around a dominant set of ideas and practices, such as those that characterize neoliberalism.

Wacquant's extension of Bourdieu's work on the bureaucratic field comes primarily through his inclusion of police, courts, and prisons as part of the right hand of the state. This move allows him to map how the neoliberal era of increased flexibility, state rollbacks, and deregulation is also characterized by increases in the punitive and disciplinary might of the state. Wacquant locates the simultaneous contraction of traditional welfare practices and expansion of punitive and surveillant workfare policies on the left hand next to the growing network of prisons designed to warehouse the risky "fractions of postindustrial proletariat" and contend with the fallout of vicious neoliberal economic policies on the right hand (Wacquant 2010, 210). Together, these processes impose a "double regulation" or "carceral-assistential mesh" that is the peculiar product of neoliberal statecraft (Wacquant 2009, xviii) under which the left hand of the state begins to function in a manner similar to the right hand. Thus, for Wacquant, the state has not been reduced to irrelevance in neoliberal times; instead, it has an active role to play in shaping the neoliberal social order. In particular, the laissez-faire shrinking of the state takes place only at the top of the social order, while at the bottom the state expands and intensifies its means of control (Wacquant 2010; for a different perspective on this process, see Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011).

Wacquant's Punishing the Poor has not gone without criticism. First, some challenge whether or not the operation of the carceral-assistential mesh, as identified by Wacquant, is distinctively new from previous periods of intensified conservative hegemony (Piven 2010; Fisher and Reese 2011; Lynch 2011). Concerns have also been raised about the overly positive view of the welfare era that Wacquant's analysis seems to suggest (Mayer 2010). Similar questions could be asked of the present article. Although Manitoba has a history of moderate social democratic policies characterized by a government commitment to social justice (Adams 2008), we do not contend that the current configuration of welfare and punishment in Manitoba is entirely new, in part because neoliberal governments have a penchant for recycling and cannibalizing the programs and strategies of previous governments (Hartman 2005; Soss et al. 2011). In the next section we make the more modest claim that neoliberal ordering has become more systematic within the social service arena. Second, some argue that the heightened punitiveness that Wacquant identifies in Punishing the Poor is distinctive to the United States and less likely to apply in nations that do not share its values and cultural tendencies (Whitman 2011) or structural features (Mayer 2010), and that neoliberalism often takes very distinct forms in different nations (Campbell 2010). In contrast, we argue that this is not the case, and that American racial, carceral, and neoliberal conditions are not so far removed from those in Canada and especially Winnipeg (see also Comack and Silver 2008; Comack 2012). Third, Wacquant is criticized for privileging macrolevel analysis, and for presenting an overly functionally integrated or monolithic picture of the state and neoliberal governance (Peck 2010; Piven 2010; Valverde 2010; Lynch 2011; Soss et al. 2011). As well, he is criticized for ignoring human agency (Mayer 2010). In contrast, we treat Wacquant's formulation of the bureaucratic field as an opportunity to examine the complex interactions between state and social service actors. We intend to bring into this model a closer look at human agency by focusing on the performances employed by social service users when seeking support within the neoliberalized bureaucratic field. Our argument is not that the current form of the bureaucratic field determines the performances of service users; rather, we seek to reveal the force of neoliberal restructuring on how the poor interact with social service providers (see also Soss et al. 2011).

NEOLIBERALISM AND THE BUREAUCRATIC FIELD IN WINNIPEG

Growing neoliberal influence is evident among those bodies that fund and oversee nonprofit social services in Winnipeg. To begin, a primary source of such funding are the three levels of government, federal, provincial, and municipal, where the province often plays the most prominent role. Since 1997, a New Democratic Party (NDP) provincial government has held power in Manitoba. Although Manitoba NDP professes fidelity to Manitoba's social democratic tradition, like social democratic parties elsewhere it has rebranded itself "Today's NDP" and broadly accepted British Labour Party Third Way compromises on economic and criminal justice policy (Woolford and Thomas 2011). In contrast, the federal and municipal governments are more directly beholden to neoliberal economic ideologies. The federal

^{3.} The Third Way refers to the attempt to reconcile right-wing economic and left-wing social policies under the government of Tony Blair. Sociologist Anthony Giddens (1998) is one of the primary theorists of the Third Way.

Conservative Party, for example, is currently exploring the idea of forming private-public partnerships (P3) between business and nonprofit social service agencies with the professed goal of ensuring more efficient delivery of services to those in need, although the underlying assumption here is that business-like practices are the most efficient and rational way for carrying out all activities, including the provision of social support. The federal government has also been very aggressive in pursuit of people on income assistance who are believed able to work, such as by instructing Employment Insurance agents to visit assistance recipients unannounced at their homes (Hall 2013). It has also introduced workfare policies for Indigenous youth seeking welfare assistance and skills training on Indigenous reserves (Scoffield 2013). Likewise, Winnipeg mayor Sam Katz is strongly connected to developer interests in the city, wholeheartedly supports the P3 model, and has long been reluctant to support social welfare projects in the inner city.

These three levels of government have contributed both to the rolling back of social services, and the rolling out of increased punitive controls. At the same time, these governments increased regulation of nonprofit social service agencies, demanding business-like accountability and managerial practices from them, and arguing that government funding means that social service agencies operate in partnership with the government, and therefore are responsible to governments just as they would be to any other funder (Woolford and Curran 2011). Moreover, nongovernment social service funders, such as the United Way, have also placed more emphasis on agency accountability and efficiency (Woolford and Curran 2011, 2013). Under these circumstances, although some social service providers try to resist these demands and remain responsive to their service users (Dobchuk-Land, Toews, and Silver 2010), they nonetheless feel increasingly restricted in how they offer services to those who come to them seeking help (Woolford and Curran 2013). In particular, because funding tends to be program specific, and is increasingly tied to quantifiable and evidence-based forms of reporting, social service agencies in Winnipeg are aware that their so-called clients must appear to fit the particular criteria of their programs and generate measurable forms of behavioral change; social service users must become more demonstrably responsible for their own care (Woolford and Curran 2013).

In this sense, the carceral-assistential mesh of neoliberalism Wacquant identifies within the US context is not unfamiliar in Manitoba. Indeed, the

ongoing expansion of prisons and policing through vehicles like the Safe Streets and Communities Act of 2012, which instituted mandatory minimum sentences for a number of crimes, is evidence of a punitive turn in Canada (Meyer and O'Malley 2005; Pratt 2007; Comack and Silver 2008). In addition, since the mid-1990s the Manitoba NDP gradually shifted its criminal justice platform from one focused on matters of social justice to one that expresses views equally tough on crime to those espoused by the federal and municipal governments (see Woolford and Thomas 2011). Recently, this government has also introduced policies to deny employment and income assistance to individuals with an outstanding arrest warrant, transforming this means of support into another means of punishment. Likewise, Winnipeg is the site of increased use of zero-tolerance policing strategies and the racialized targeting of Indigenous persons (Comack and Silver 2008; Comack 2012). Under these circumstances, social services are more and more practiced in the shadow of the prison system, as services seemingly disconnected from crime, such as welfare, housing, employment, and child and family services, are reconfigured toward disciplinary strategies defined by frequent observation, reporting, and requirements of evidence of active job seeking (Wacquant 2009; Schram et al. 2010; Soss et al. 2011). As well, they are enlisted to fulfill latent criminal justice functions (Woolford and Thomas 2011); in Manitoba, provincial ministries, such as Education and Healthy Living, are reconceptualized in government speeches and at the level of policy making as part of broad crime control strategy that begins early in children's lives, assessing their risks of future criminal activity (Woolford and Thomas 2011). It is also the case that Indigenous persons are vastly overrepresented in correctional institutions on the Canadian Prairies. In Manitoba, although Aboriginal persons make up only 13 percent of the population, they accounted for over 69 percent of the people in custody according to the most recent data. (Dauvergne 2012).

Thus, our previous research on the bureaucratic field in Winnipeg, including interviews with service providers and funding authorities, as well as the lead author's volunteer work at a social service agency over the past decade, suggests that concepts of accountability and new public management are now the dominant logic of practice among inner city social services. This restructuring of the bureaucratic field thus raises the question of how this all affects service user's interactions with social service providers. Social service providers are increasingly accepting of the dominant logics of neoliberalism, such as the need to foster responsibility among

their clients, and therefore more willing to help manufacture and regulate neoliberal citizens through their services, but are service users picking up on these cues?

METHODS

Participants were recruited through posters placed at local shelters and other social service agencies and through targeted sampling. The latter strategy was used because we did not wish to only recruit those who are more active in their pursuit of opportunities to talk and to earn a bit of money, but also harder-to-reach populations, such as those struggling with addiction. We were able to secure 20 such participants through assistance from a program that helps individuals dealing with substance addiction in their search for inner city housing. This latter group required support from a broad array of social services in their day-to-day lives. The other 10 participants saw our posters and contacted us.

Although we did not ask participants about substance use, 22 were forthright about their addictions to solvents (or "sniff"), alcohol, and drugs such as crack cocaine or prescription medicines such as Tylenol with codeine. Most of the 30 participants (83 percent) reported that they experienced some trouble with the law, whether in the form of being hassled by police or being arrested and incarcerated. Indeed, several spent time in the "drunk tank" housed in a local shelter, a space where the carceral and social service networks are tightly entwined. Finally, all but three of our participants identified themselves to be of Indigenous descent.

Because participants were members of a vulnerable population, we decided to hold the interviews in a location with immediate access to support personnel (e.g., a therapist or program worker). The location selected to meet this demand was the office of the John Howard Society of Manitoba, where the interviewer had been a board member. The interviewer made known his previous affiliation with the agency but also stressed to participants his role in the project was that of an independent researcher and not a representative of the John Howard Society. Moreover, he emphasized that all information would be kept completely confidential, their identities anonymous, and that their participation would not affect any services they might receive from this or other agencies.

After arriving at the John Howard Society, an administrative support person invited study participants to sit in the waiting area while the interviewer completed his previous interview in a meeting room. Once admitted into the meeting room, the interviewer went carefully over the consent form. Consenting participants were compensated with \$25 for taking part in the interviews and to cover transportation costs, based on the belief that our participants deserved to be fairly compensated for their time.

This interview design, intended to ensure ethical interactions with participants, may also have left participants feeling the interview context was similar to their typical interactions with social service agencies: they entered official offices to fill out official paperwork and answer official questions in order to gain access to needed resources. This consideration is based on the fact that several participants had to be reminded throughout the interview that the interviewer did not work for a social service agency and could not assist them in their pursuit of support. Whether or not participants were responding to familiar cues or the novelty of being interviewed by a white male as a subject of research, the questions we posed, which asked about their daily interactions with service providers, police, security agents, and government workers, in most instances elicited a set of performances that appeared designed to convey the responsibility of these actors as they go about their day-to-day lives. As one would expect based on Goffman's insights into dramaturgy and passing, our participants reacted against dominant assumptions about people who require assistance from nonprofit social service agencies or have addictions. But what we found most interesting was that as they engaged in performances intended to allow them to pass or to counter stigma, they also demonstrated their intuitive knowledge of the neoliberal conditions of the bureaucratic field and accentuated aspects of themselves that were more likely to be of symbolic value within these objective circumstances.

Coding themes drawn from the existing literature on neoliberalism and reflective of our prior interviews with service providers were used as a starting point for examining the interviews with service users. Beginning with the notion of neoliberal citizenship (see Siltanen 2002), we wanted to understand the extent to which service users strategically or habitually adopt discourses similar to those mobilized by service providers. Based on our re-

^{4.} The lead author conducted the interviews on his own. These interviewers were taperecorded for accuracy, but the interviewer also took notes on the conversation so that subtleties of bodily comportment and tone could be recalled. The interviews were then transcribed and read in combination with the written notes from the interview sessions.

view of the relevant literature, the following characteristics were discerned as exemplary of the ideal neoliberal citizen. First, the neoliberal citizen is active (Ilcan, Oliver, and O'Connor 2007; Ilcan 2009), which is often taken to mean participation in waged work (Clarke 2004, 2005; Whiteford 2010). Second, the neoliberal citizen manages risk prudently (O'Malley 1996; Rose 2000) or, in other words, is an actuarial subject capable of calculating and planning for potential threats and dangers (Clarke 2005). Third, the neoliberal citizen is a responsible person capable of self-management (Ilcan et al. 2007; Kennelly and Llewellyn 2011), self-governance (Rose 1999, 2000; Ong 2006; Ilcan et al. 2007), and making reasonable choices (Clarke 2005; Ilcan 2009; Whiteford 2010). Suzan Ilcan (2009, 208) points to this aspect of citizenship as a necessary component of what she calls "privatized responsibility," by which she describes the shift from social to private responsibility under neoliberalism. Fourth, the neoliberal citizen is not reliant on government or social services for survival; instead, she or he is an autonomous (Rose 1996; Schild 2007; Ilcan et al. 2007; Whiteford 2010), self-reliant (Clarke 2004; Ilcan et al. 2007), and empowered (Clarke 2005; Schild 2007; Ilcan et al. 2007) agent. Finally, the neoliberal citizen is an entrepreneur of self, who can maximize his or her personal interests, well-being, and quality of life (Burchell 1993; Rose 1996; Ilcan et al. 2007; Dobrowolsky 2012;) through self-promotion and competition (Ong 2006).

Every interview was reviewed and coded by both authors and coding variances were resolved through dialogue and agreement. We enter the data from a deductive rather than inductive standpoint in order to examine the extent to which the pervasive discourses that shape service provider discussions of their practices, which we analyzed in our previous work (Woolford and Curran 2011, 2013), have taken hold among service users. We also hold a certain degree of skepticism toward the positivism of scholars such as Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967), which suggests that a grounded approach based on a principle of emergence allows the researcher purer access to an objective world of experience. Since ours is a constructivist and interpretive approach, influenced by the deductive discourse analysis strategies used by scholars such as Fairclough (1995), Holstein and Gubrium (2005), Phillips and Hardy (2002), and Van Dijk (1997a, 1997b), it made sense for us to begin from dominant discourses and to critically trace their deployment in everyday conversation. Therefore, a deductive approach, complemented by inductive and reflexive practices, allowed us to set the criteria we felt to be of primary concern but also required us to continuously question our categories. Along these lines, we also use open coding so that we could capture themes that would potentially trouble our preselected categories, thereby allowing us to seek out and capture ambiguous, contradictory, emergent, or contrary moments in the data.

PERFORMING NEOLIBERAL CITIZENSHIP

Under neoliberal restructuring, the responsible subject is one who requires little state intervention in his or her day-to-day life, and in the bureaucratic field this conception of individual is both a means for evaluating the effectiveness of and a desired objective for social service programs. Thus, service providers measure the success of their programs, and service users gain access to these programs based on prechosen characteristics that reflect the over-arching goal of decreasing direct state involvement in service users' lives.

The five characteristics of the ideal neoliberal citizen identified earlier put forward an image of obligation-based citizenship, whereby one needs to prove him or herself deserving of care within a neoliberal context. All of these neoliberal characteristics were evident in the interviews we conducted. The following examples are illustrative of themes that arose frequently in our interview transcripts.

First, the neoliberal citizen is active in the formal economy. In the context of inner-city poverty, this activity often translates to participation in the informal economy, which some authors portray in positive terms as equivalent to work in the formal economy (see Karabanow et al. 2010; Persaud, McIntyre, and Milaney 2010). Teresa Gowan (2009, 235), for example, describes how individuals who collect cans to return for the deposit "used their scavenging work to create a space for self-respect and solidarity. Investing the work itself with considerable effort and attention, they remade themselves in the image of the skilled blue-collar worker." Our interviews were similarly replete with stories of innovative and active engagement with work in both the formal and informal economies. Many of our interviewees fashioned a positive self-image based on their attachment to work. Steve, for example, traveled the alleyways of Winnipeg by bicycle, seeking out items to sell and scrap metal. He told us: "I want to work . . . I do not want to be too much of a burden on the taxpayers. In fact, I told my [social assistance] worker, one good way would be, like for people on social assistance, who are able and willing, why don't they set up a cleaning system in the whole city of Winnipeg" (Steve, July 6, 2010). Others, like Joan, spoke of their good "work ethic" (Joan, July 8, 2010). Similarly, Arthur, who had fallen on difficult times because of addiction, emphasized that "I have always worked, the only time I've dealt with income assistance is when things have gone really bad" (Arthur, July 14, 2010). Bob, who also struggled with addiction, felt . . . very much the same way: "There is one thing that I discovered about myself a few years back, I'm a worker. . . . I'm happiest when I'm working. Because the money I make it's mine. . . . This way, as I said, it's not taken, stolen, borrowed or even panhandled. What you earn it's your own money and it's honest money" (Bob, July 16, 2010).

The interviewees frequently mentioned active engagement in waged work without prompting. In three of the above examples, the interviewer did not ask about their work habits; rather, talk of active engagement with work arose when the participant was asked about his or her interactions with government social assistance caseworkers (i.e., "do you feel you are treated with respect by your welfare case worker?"). While we do not doubt our respondents' honesty in declaring their attachment to work, we believe the stigma associated with social assistance provokes the respondent to reframe her or his activity so as to convince the interviewer that he or she is not idle or lazy. While such self-characterization might occur in any economic period, the emphasis on work carries a particular valence during neoliberal times: the respondents are resisting the stereotype of being welfare dependent by presenting themselves as embracing of work, no matter the quality of the job. In addition, when Steve uses the expression, "burden on the taxpayer," he demonstrates an awareness of external stigmatizing impressions that he hopes to manage through discussion of his active and creative engagement in work.

Second, the neoliberal citizen is prudent. While prudence is often conceived as the ability to mitigate a wide variety of personal risks, some street ethnographers locate prudence in the ability of the poor to navigate the dangers and hassles of the inner city. For example, Elijah Anderson (1999) describes the inner city dweller's familiarity with the code of the street as a means to lower the risk of being mugged by ensuring that one's actions do not challenge the power of the mugger. Likewise, several of our interviewees emphasized the strategies they use to ensure their personal safety. Dave told

^{5.} To protect the anonymity of our respondents, all names are used in this article are pseudonyms.

us that he does not walk around "on cheque days" because of the number of people drinking and looking for trouble on such occasions (Dave, July 8, 2010). Alex, too, related prudence to the interviewer as he described how he avoids eye contact and keeps his distance from those who strike him as being potentially aggressive: "The more you walk away, the more they're going to be confused about what they want to do. They won't bother you" (Alex, July 12, 2010). In a different vein, Bruce reported how he had to muster a great deal of prudence to fight his addiction to alcohol while living in a shelter among people who were currently drinking. He told us how on one occasion he had "these guys drunk around me and they're trying to coax me to drink and all that, eh. They're trying to say, 'come on, let's go drink' and all that, and I said no, no. These guys invited me to a party one time and I said no I can't go. They both died the next day. They died in a fire. So, yeah, good thing I didn't go. I said no, I didn't want to go" (Bruce, July 5, 2010). Bruce told a similar story when asked about the challenges of battling addiction while living in a shelter, and he tells of how he simply says no to all offers to attend parties. He does not criticize the context in which he is placed to fight addiction; rather, he stresses the force of his own will and its role in managing risk.

In showing their capacity for prudent self-management, Dave, Alex, and Bruce also create a contrast between their actions and the reckless behavior of others, using a strategy of "lateral denigration and mutual distanciation" (Wacquant 2007, 68) to separate themselves from similarly stigmatized others. Dave and Alex were asked whether or not they feel safe in their neighborhood as part of a set of questions about relations with police. Rather than criticize government or police, they both pointed out how they personally manage danger, embracing situational crime prevention as a matter of everyday prudence. Thus, the respondents draw on circulating discourses of prudent self-management to convince the interviewer that he is deserving of care, since he has not like others succumbed to the imputed hopelessness of the street. Our interviewees recognized that they were in charge of their own risk management, and rarely expressed opinions that others, even the police, needed to provide for their safety or well-being.

Third, the neoliberal citizen is responsible. Discourses of individualized responsibility have become the currency of many social service transactions, as service users are encouraged to examine how they might better ensure that their day-to-day needs are met rather than rely on the state for support. Based on Snow and Anderson's (1987) analysis of the identity talk engaged in by the homeless, one would expect the poor and marginalized to distance themselves from those who take advantage of the system, thereby reconstructing for themselves a positive social identity. However, the specific nature of this identity talk as it takes place in the neoliberalized bureaucratic field is such that discourses of responsibility become a key means for differentiating oneself from the undeserving poor.

In almost all of our interviews, respondents made a point of confirming that they are responsible individuals. Tina complained that "There are just a lot of people who take advantage . . . of the system and just basically live off of it. Then, when the people [who] do need it go in . . . like I felt degraded. I was given a hard time (Tina, July 5, 2010). For her, the irresponsibility of others made life more difficult for responsible social service users like herself. Dianne offered a more immediate example of irresponsibility, her boyfriend: "He doesn't know anything about responsibility, he doesn't. He has to be taught because he doesn't know how. . . . But he's got to take a little bit of responsibility in doing some things for himself and not let everybody else do it for him" (Dianne, July 7, 2010). Not all respondents, however, focused on the irresponsibility of others. Glenn, for example, made it clear that he was aware of his need to take responsibility. After spending time in prison because of alcohol and anger related issues, Glenn reflects that "I want to quit all this little kid crap and just pull my socks up and deal with everything I got myself into. I dug a big hole, basically, from acting out because of my aggression and everything and freaking out because I'm mad at the world" (Glenn, July 5, 2010).

Each of these respondents was asked, "What does the term responsibility mean to you?" Not a single individual in the entire sample bristled at this question. Instead, most found ways of presenting themselves as responsible citizens, often by contrasting themselves with irresponsible others, who did not respect nor abide social norms and instead took unfair advantage of social and public services. In the examples above, Tina differentiated herself from those who exploit income assistance programs, Glenn acknowledged his past problems and resolves to become more responsible, and Dianne worried for her boyfriend and his lack of responsibility. They do not challenge or subvert hegemonic notions of responsibility, which place priority on how one must take care of him or herself by making economically rational choices that prevent one from becoming a burden on government or others; instead, they draw on these discourses in their pre-

sentations of self and their representations of others, articulating themselves as people with the potential to be, or who already are, responsible.

Fourth, the neoliberal citizen is autonomous. Autonomy is related to responsibility, since the responsible individual becomes more autonomous through their rational choices. However, it also captures the more assertive side of the neoliberal citizen, who is not merely responsible to not be a burden on the state, but is also empowered to strike out on his or her own and to take charge of his or her life. Such expectations place service users in something of a contradiction, as they rely on social services for their everyday survival, yet work to construct themselves as actors who can take care of themselves. Edward, for example, when asked how he managed to get sober, gives little of the credit to the program that assisted him: "I did it on my own. I seen this guy sober up on his on. . . . And I met him in detox, eh. So I seen this guy, he's sobering up. 'Hey are you not drinking yet?' And he says, 'no I'm sober still.' Then I finally said, man if this guy can do it, I can do it" (Edward, July 5, 2010). Steve, when asked about his use of income assistance, longed for a recycling deposit program in Manitoba that would allow him to make money by collecting cans: "I wouldn't even be on welfare. I wouldn't have to be. I was in Calgary for a year. I was not on welfare. I was making money every single day almost. . . . I could have made over a hundred bucks a day" (Steve, July 6, 2010). Finally, Bob, who was asked about his search for employment, articulated that if it were not for his "bad credit" he would be more autonomous: "But I do want to get a place just so I can have a chance to be independent" (Bob, July 16, 2010).

As can be expected, none of the respondents wanted to portray himself or herself as lacking agency, and all sought to convince the interviewer that, given the right circumstances, they could care for themselves. This is part of proving oneself a sound investment for social service resources, demonstrating that whatever care is offered will be put to good use by helping the social service user overcome dependence. For example, Steve and Bob were both careful not to convey any sense of entitlement to social or public supports; instead, they were deserving of care because they each possessed the potential to be self-sufficient with the help of a minor boost.

Fifth, the neoliberal citizen is entrepreneurial, a characteristic that is often connected to the innovations of the poor within the informal economy of the street (e.g., Duneier 1999). When asked about informal means used to supplement their incomes, our respondents discussed the various

strategies they use in order to add to their meager welfare checks. Some attended workshops and skills training seminars to increase their marketability within the formal economy. Only one, however, voluntarily admitted using illegal means to obtain funds (in this case, through selling crack cocaine). In contrast, others spoke of the creative ways through which they supplement their welfare income by engaging with the informal and formal economies. Dave learned more effective job seeking strategies from a program he was attending: "I'm starting to like apply for certain job or if there's a certain job that I want I try to line up my qualifications for what they're asking for now" (Dave, July 8, 2010). In contrast, Elizabeth carried with her at all times a magnet, so she could identify steel for scrap metal sales. She also used a stroller to transport the steel; however, she also discovered that the stroller was very useful for panhandling, since people would "think there's a baby in the stroller. Maybe that's why I have the stroller with me. . . . So they give me money. Oh this is for your baby. There's no baby in there" (Elizabeth, July 16, 2010). Steve even went so far as to try to engage the interviewer in a business plan for an alleyway cleaning service to be performed by welfare recipients. The key point to be made here is that each of these individuals presents himself or herself as someone able to promote his or her own self-interest through either entrepreneurial acumen or through increased knowledge of the job market. An entrepreneurial spirit is thus embraced alongside self-presentations of autonomy and active work to communicate a sense of self that is largely consistent with the neoliberal citizen.

Whereas in a previous era, a female social service user might have emphasized her maternal and family-oriented sense of self (Evans and Swift 2000; Mosher 2000; Chunn and Gavigan 2006), most of our female interviewees instead put forward their economic selves. This was equally true for our male respondents, who primarily sought to establish their worth based on their potential for self-care and responsibility. Seldom did they break from this script, and rarely did they criticize the government or those who were to provide them with care. Instead, most appeared attuned to the neoliberal conditions of Winnipeg's bureaucratic field.

Although previous interviews with nonprofit service providers who were themselves Indigenous informed us that Indigenous service users are often quite dissatisfied with non-Indigenous social services, our respondents were, for the most part, reluctant to take these services to task.

This is not surprising to the extent that Indigenous persons in Winnipeg have often been encouraged by Indigenous social service providers to learn to code switch—that is, to preserve their Indigenous identities while learning to perform themselves in a manner that allows access to resources from a white bureaucratic audience (Woolford and Curran 2013). The examples above suggest that this code switching is taking place within neoliberal frames of reference. They perform the requisite neoliberal identity to access services, while simultaneously obscuring their Indigenous identities.

REFUSING NEOLIBERAL CITIZENSHIP: PERFORMANCE AND SCRIPT VIOLATIONS

Neoliberal citizenship, however, is not a straitjacket; the interview responses did not always fit neatly into our coding themes. In particular, resistance to the logic of neoliberal citizenship was evident among three of our respondents. In one case, once compensation had been received, Gary ridiculed the interview and disrupted the interviewer's attempts to gather information. He declined to be recorded, and then answered the questions by telling outlandish tales while laughing and enjoying himself. For example, when asked about staying in shelters, he claimed to have never stayed in one and to have only lived in the dumpsters behind the John Howard Society for as long as he could remember. When asked what he did in the winter, he answered that he would seek a larger dumpster. Although it is not impossible that one of our respondents might sleep in a dumpster, this respondent's claims were soon invalidated when he returned to the Siloam Mission (a local shelter) and told everyone present that a "white guy" was at the John Howard Society giving away money for answering a few questions. This resulted in a large group appearing at the John Howard Society the next day, claiming that Gary had sent them. By disrupting the interview, the respondent challenged the interviewer's authority and refused to perform to the interviewer's expectations. He showed little interest in portraying himself as a responsible neoliberal citizen.

Other interviewees challenged the imposition of neoliberal criteria on their lives and how they felt transformed into commodities or pieces within a neoliberalized bureaucratic field. When asked about access to services, Dianne criticized government and social service agents for not making it clear enough what services are available. Real help, in terms of negotiating the system, came from other service users: "You learn it from other people, from the system, you know, that are in the system with you. That's how you learn. 'Cause if you don't know then you have to get somebody that knows the system really good to show you how to go about getting things because your worker won't show you" (Dianne, July 7, 2010). Joan was the most critical: "I find that there's not enough Aboriginal people. It's run by a lot of white people who don't know Aboriginal culture. And I feel like they're exploiting Aboriginal people to get funding for their businesses. And that really bugs me" (Joan, July 8, 2010). Here, we argue that Dianne and Joan sense that they are inputs set to be transformed into outputs that can be measured in order to ensure continued funding for a social service agency and its workers. In our view, what they are resisting is the dehumanization that is implied by the demand that they perform their humanity in a certain way in order to have their needs met. They become resentful when they feel that their case workers are not providing them with sufficient information about available social services or that they are not being treated with adequate respect, despite their understanding that it is their need that keeps social service and government public service agents employed.

It is also important to note that the other, less critical participants were not uniformly on message, nor did they restrict themselves entirely to a neoliberal script. Interspersed with their discussions of responsibility were conversations about the pleasures and pains of their everyday lives. More true to a Goffman-style analysis, they challenged their discredited identities by bringing forward aspects of their selves that countered the daily stigmatization they experience. Elliott, for example, before the first question was asked, began to discuss a book of poetry he had published. Then, later in the interview, when asked about whether he felt social service providers treated him with respect, he answered, "Ya, they know I'm a poet and like writing poetry." Karen also preempted the interview with a lengthy discussion of how she had been misunderstood by so many of those who were supposed to help her. She felt victimized whenever she sought help from support workers or police, because it seemed as though they doubted her. From the start, her primary objective was to convince the interviewer that she was a trustworthy person. Chris, on the other hand, embellished stories of his exploits with the police and women, presenting himself as a rebellious and powerful individual to counter assumptions people make about him because he is wheelchair bound and requires the use of a catheter.

CONCLUSION

In arguing that service users are attuned to the neoliberal conditions of the bureaucratic field, we are not suggesting that they are duped into a neoliberal ideology that has fully revised their sense of self. Instead, our argument is that they have, either strategically or inadvertently, learned to inflect their public speech with neoliberal discourses in order to present themselves as whole rather than discredited persons. Further empirical work is needed to understand how social service users adjust their selfpresentations in response to the structural context of social service practice, since such adjustments present a potential obstacle within interactions between social service providers and users. If social service providers are increasingly prone to framing their work with marginalized groups through scripts of accountability and responsibility (Woolford and Curran 2011, 2013), and social service users are also embracing these same scripts to represent their needs to service providers, then this will have practical repercussions for the interactions between service providers and users. In particular, if the service user feels encouraged to fit him or herself in the prescribed category of neoliberal citizenship and to embody socially approved performances in order to receive care, this constitutes a barrier between the person seeking help and the person with the power to offer that help. Their relationship forms based on neoliberal presuppositions about who is and who is not worthy of care rather than on the specific circumstances of need that are faced by the service user. The practical implications of this development are that social service interactions become characterized by the series of masks worn by the various performers rather than the hard work of getting to know one another, building trust, and forming helping relationships.

Wacquant's definition of neoliberalism, his reworking of Bourdieu's notion of the bureaucratic field, and his conceptualization of the carceralassistential mesh that forms when social service programs are transformed by government to discipline the poor to accept the responsibilities of neoliberal citizenship provide a useful framework for examining the shifting conditions of Manitoba's bureaucratic field, as well as for capturing the operative logics that determine the contemporary politics of care. By applying Wacquant's framework at the level of everyday social interaction and combining it with Goffman's work on performativity, we argue that the performances of our respondents are shaped to the symbolic conditions of the bureaucratic field and therefore are used to emulate the desired characteristics of neoliberal citizenship. While we did not ask that our respondents directly explain their performative strategies, their answers to questions within an interview context were suggestive that they are on some level aware of the preferred modes of self-presentation in neoliberal times. They are accustomed to the neoliberal conditions of Winnipeg's bureaucratic field, where there is increasing emphasis placed on discourses of active engagement in work, prudent risk management, the demand that one be responsible for oneself, the desire that one be autonomous from the state, and the value of entrepreneurial engagement with the social world. Service users seek the symbolic power offered by these discourses to re-create themselves as redeemable citizens worthy of social service care and to navigate the disciplinary and punitive force of the state. They are sensitive to the dominant conditions of the bureaucratic field, aware of its expectations, and seek to play its game in a manner that will allow them to successfully receive needed services.

NOTE

Andrew Woolford is professor of sociology and social justice and criminology research coordinator at the University of Manitoba. He is author of *The Politics of Restorative Justice:* A Critical Introduction (2009) and Between Justice and Certainty: Treaty-Making in British Columbia (2005). He is also coauthor, with R. S. Ratner, of Informal Reckonings: Conflict Resolution in Mediation, Restorative Justice and Reparations (2007).

Amanda Nelund is a PhD candidate in sociology at the University of Manitoba. Her dissertation research examines informal justice programs for women in conflict with the law, with a focus on the gendering strategies present in those programs.

The research on which this article is based was made possible through a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. An earlier version of this article was presented at "Critical Perspectives: Criminology and Social Justice," University of Ottawa, April 29 to May 1, 2011. Our thanks to Loïc Wacquant, Bryan Hogeveen, Dayna Crosby, Amelia Curran, Jasmine Thomas, the *SSR* reviewers, Susan J. Lambert, and Nausicaa Renner for their comments and insight.

- Adams, Christopher. 2008. *Politics in Manitoba: Parties, Leaders, and Voters.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Anderson, Elijah. 1999. Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City. New York: Norton.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. In Other Words: Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- ------. 1994. "Rethinking the State: On the Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field." Sociological Theory 12 (1): 1–19.
- ——. 1998. Acts of Resistance: Against the Tyranny of the Market. New York: New Press.
- Burchell, Graham. 1993. "Liberal Government and Techniques of the Self." *Economy and Society* 22 (3): 267–82.
- Campbell, John L. 2010. "Neoliberalism's Penal and Debtor States: A Rejoinder to Loïc Wacquant." *Theoretical Criminology* 14 (1): 59–73.
- Chunn, Dorothy, and Shelley Gavigan. 2006. "From Welfare to Fraud to Welfare as Fraud: The Criminalization of Poverty." 217–35 in *Criminalizing Women: Gender and (In)Justice in Neo-liberal Times*, edited by Gillian Balfour and Elizabeth Comack. Halifax: Fernwood.
- Clarke, John. 2004. "Dissolving the Public Realm? The Logics and Limits of Neo-liberalism." *Journal of Social Policy* 33 (1): 27–48.
- ———. 2005. "New Labour's Citizens: Activated, Empowered, Responsibilized, Abandoned?" *Critical Social Policy* 25 (4): 447–63.
- Comack, Elizabeth. 2012. *Racialized Policing: Aboriginal People's Encounters with the Police*. Halifax: Fernwood.
- Comack, Elizabeth, and Jim Silver. 2008. "A Canadian Exception to the Punitive Turn? Community Responses to Policing Practices in Winnipeg's Inner City." Canadian Journal of Sociology 33 (4): 815–44.
- Dauvergne, Mia. 2012. "Adult Correctional Statistics in Canada, 2010/2011." *Juristat*, catalog no. 85-002-X.
- Dobchuk-Land, Bronwyn, Owen Toews, and Jim Silver. 2010. "Neighbourhood-Level Responses to Safety Concerns in Four Winnipeg Inner-City Neighbourhoods: Reflections on Collective Efficacy." Canadian Journal of Urban Research 19 (1): 18–33.
- Dobrowolsky, Alexandra. 2012. "Nuancing Neoliberalism: Lessons Learned from a Failed Immigration Experiment." *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs12134-012-0234-8 (accessed February 19, 2013).
- Duneier, Mitchell. 1999. Sidewalk. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
- Evans, Patricia, and Karen Swift. 2000. "Single Mothers and the Press: Rising Tides, Moral Panic, and Restructuring Discourses." 73–92 in *Restructuring Caring Labour: Discourse, State Practice, and Everyday Life*, edited by Sheila Neysmith. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1995. Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language. London: Longman.
- Fisher, Tracey, and Ellen Reese. 2011. "The Punitive Turn in Social Policies: Critical Race Feminist Reflections on the USA, Great Britain, and Beyond." *Critical Sociology* 37 (2): 225–36.

- Giddens, Anthony. 1998. The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy. London: Polity. Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Piscataway, NJ: Aldine.
- Goffman, Erving. (1959) 1993. The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. New York: Anchor Books.
- _____. 1963. Behavior in Public Places. New York: Free Press.

- Golding, Peter, and Sue Middleton. 1981. Images of Welfare. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gowan, Teresa. 2009. "New Hobos or Neo-romantic Fantasy? Urban Ethnography beyond the Neoliberal Disconnect." *Qualitative Sociology* 32 (3): 231–57.
- Hall, Chris. 2013. "EI Reforms: An Attack on Fraud or the Unemployed?" *CBC News*, March 1, http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/02/28/f-vp-hall-employment-insurance html
- Handler, Joel F., and Yeheskel Hasenfeld. 2007. *Blame Welfare, Ignore Poverty and Inequality*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hartman, Yvonne. 2005. "In Bed with the Enemy: Some Ideas on the Connections between Neoliberalism and the Welfare State." *Current Sociology* 53 (1): 57–73.
- Holstein, J. A., and J. Gubrium. 2005. "Interpretative Practice and Social Action." 483–505 in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ilcan, Suzan. 2009. "Privatizing Responsibility: Public Sector Reform under Neoliberal Government." Canadian Review of Sociology 46 (3): 207–34.
- Ilcan, Suzan, and Tanya Basok. 2004. "Community Government: Voluntary Agencies, Social Justice, and the Responsibilization of Citizens." *Citizenship Studies* 8 (2): 129–44.
- Ilcan, Suzan, Marcia Oliver, and Daniel O'Connor. 2007. "Spaces of Governance: Gender and Public Restructuring in Canada." *Gender, Place and Culture* 14 (1): 75–92.
- Karabanow, Jeff, Jean Hughes, Jann Ticknor, Sean Kidd, and Dorothy Patterson. 2010. "The Economics of Being Young and Poor: How Homeless Youth Survive in Neo-liberal Times." *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 37 (4): 39–63.
- Katz, Michael B. 1989. *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*. New York: Pantheon.
- Kennelly, Jacqueline, and Kristina Llewellyn. 2011. "Educating for Active Compliance: Discursive Constructions in Citizenship Education." *Citizenship Studies* 15 (6–7): 897–914.
- Lankenau, Stephan E. 1999a. "Panhandling Repertoires and Routines for Overcoming the Nonperson Treatment." *Deviant Behavior* 20 (2): 183–206.
- ——. 1999b. "Stronger Than Dirt: Public Humiliation and Status Enhancement among Panhandlers." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 28 (3): 288–318.
- Lynch, Mona. 2011. "Theorizing Punishment: Reflections on Wacquant's *Punishing the Poor.*" Critical Sociology 37 (2): 237–44.
- Mayer, Margit. 2010. "Punishing the Poor—a Debate: Some Questions on Wacquant's Theorizing the Neoliberal State." *Theoretical Criminology* 14 (1): 93–103.
- Meyer, Jeffrey, and Pat O'Malley. 2005. "Missing the Punitive Turn? Canadian Criminal Justice, 'Balance,' and Penal Modernism." 201–17 in *The New Punitiveness: Trends, Theo-*

- ries, Perspectives, edited by John Pratt, David Brown, Mark Brown, Simon Hallsworth, and Wayne Morrison. Cullompton: Willan.
- Mosher, Janet. 2000. "Managing the Disentitlement of Women: Glorified Markets, the Idealized Family, and the Undeserving Other." 30–51 in Restructuring Caring Labour: Discourse, State Practice, and Everyday Life, edited by Sheila Neysmith. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- O'Malley, Pat. 1996. "Risk and Responsibility." 189–208 in Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government, edited by Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne, and Nikolas Rose. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ong, Aihwa. 2006. Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Peck, Jamie. 2010. "Zombie Neoliberalism and the Ambidextrous State." *Theoretical Criminology* 14 (1): 104–10.
- Persaud, Steven, Lynn McIntyre, and Katrina Milaney. 2010. "Working Homeless Men in Calgary, Canada: Hegemony and Identity." *Human Organization* 69 (4): 343–51.
- Phillips, Nelson, and Cynthia Hardy. 2002. Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction. Qualitative Research Methods Series 50. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Piven, Francis Fox. 2010. "A Response to Wacquant." *Theoretical Criminology* 14 (1): 111–16. Pratt, John. 2007. *Penal Populism*. London: Routledge.
- Rose, Nikolas. 1996. "Governing 'Advanced' Liberal Democracies." 37–64 in Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government, edited by Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne, and Nikolas Rose. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ———. 1999. Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought. London: Cambridge University Press.
- ———. 2000. "Government and Control." British Journal of Criminology 40 (2): 321–339.
- Schild, Verónica. 2007. "Empowering 'Consumer-Citizens' or Governing Poor Female Subjects?: The Institutionalization of 'Self-Development' in the Chilean Social Policy Field." *Journal of Consumer Culture* 7 (2): 179–203.
- Schram, Sanford, Joe Soss, Linda Houser, and Richard C. Fording. 2010. "The Third Level of U.S. Welfare Reform: Governmentality under Neoliberal Paternalism." *Citizenship Studies* 14 (6): 739–54.
- Scoffield, Heather. 2013. "Ottawa Budget creates \$241M Workfare Program for First Nations Youth." Winnipeg Free Press, March 21, http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/canada/ottawa -budget-creates-241m-workfare-program-for-first-nations-youth-199414571.html.
- Siltanen, Janet. 2002. "Paradise Paved? Reflections on the Fate of Social Citizenship in Canada." Citizenship Studies 6 (4): 395–414.
- Smith, Dorothy. 1987. The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Snow, David, and Leon Anderson. 1987. "Identity Work among the Homeless: The Verbal Construction and Avowal of Personal Identities." *American Journal of Sociology* 92 (6): 1336–71.
- Soss, Joe, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford Schram. 2011. Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Valverde, Mariana. 2010. "Comment on Loïc Wacquant's 'Theoretical Code' to Punishing the Poor." Theoretical Criminology 14 (1): 117–20.

- Van Dijk, Teun A., ed. 1997a. Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies 2. London: Sage.
- . 1997b. Discourse as Structure and Process. Discourse Studies 1. London: Sage.
- Van Oorschot, Wim. 2000. "Who Should Get What and Why? On Deservingness Criteria and the Conditionality of Solidarity among the Public." *Policy and Politics* 28 (1): 33–48.
- Wacquant, Loïc, 2007. "Territorial Stigmatization in the Age of Advanced Marginality." *Thesis Eleven* 91 (1): 66–77.
- ———. 2009. Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- ———. 2010. "Crafting the Neoliberal State: Workfare, Prisonfare, and Social Insecurity." Sociological Forum 25 (2): 197–220.
- Whiteford, Martin. 2010. "Hot Tea, Dry Toast and the Responsibilisation of Homeless People." Social Policy and Society 9 (2): 193–205.
- Whitman, James Q. 2011. "Of Neo-liberalism and Comparative Punishment." Critical Sociology 37 (2): 217–24.
- Woolford, Andrew, and Amelia Curran. 2011. "Limited Autonomy, Neoliberal Domination, and Ethical Distancing in the Social Services." *Critical Social Policy* 31 (4): 583–606.
- ———. 2013. "Community Positions, Neoliberal Dispositions: Neoliberalism, Welfare, and Reflexivity within the Social Service Field." *Critical Sociology* 39 (1): 45–63.
- Woolford, Andrew, and Jasmine Thomas. 2011. "Exception and Deputization under Today's NDP: Neoliberalism, the Third Way and Crime Control in Manitoba." *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 26 (1): 113–32.

Inequality in the Spatial Allocation of Social Services: Government Contracts to Nonprofit Organizations in New York City

NICOLE P. MARWELL

Baruch College and Graduate Center—City University of New York

AARON GULLICKSON University of Oregon

ABSTRACT Publicly funded social services are an increasingly important component of social provision spending, accounting for approximately one-fifth of today's welfare state expenditures. These funds are often allocated through purchase of service contracts between state and municipal agencies and third-party providers, usually nonprofit organizations. This study uses a unique dataset of government contracts with nonprofit organizations in New York City between 1997 and 2001 to study the relationship between the allocation of social services funding across neighborhoods and neighborhood need. We distinguish between local organizations serving their immediate neighborhoods and distributive organizations serving multiple neighborhoods. Overall, contract dollars allocated to both organizational types are positively associated with socioeconomic disadvantage, although distributive organizations are less likely to be physically located in needy neighborhoods. However, contract dollars for services targeted to specific populations are sometimes negatively associated with the prevalence of these targeted populations, especially when those contracts go to distributive organizations.

INTRODUCTION

The US welfare state has a long tradition of joint public-private provision. Aspects of the nation's history, including federalism, the power of interest groups, and a long-standing preference for a small state bureaucracy have produced, sustained, and expanded this arrangement for nearly 2 centuries (Salamon 1987; Clemens 2006; Morgan and Campbell 2011). The earliest

Social Service Review (June 2013). © 2013 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved. 0037-7961/2013/8702-0005\$10.00

forms of state and local assistance to the destitute included agreements with private households to shelter and feed public charges in exchange for their labor, as well as the distribution to needy families of basic household goods (food, fuel, etc.) purchased from local merchants (Patterson 1994). By the mid-nineteenth century, state governments were routinely subsidizing private agencies to take care of orphans, the disabled, the mentally ill, and the sick, often because these subsidies amounted to a fraction of the cost of setting up and operating public institutions to provide the same services (Barrows 1885; Department of Finance Charitable Institutions Division 1904; Salamon 1987). With the exception of federal Civil War pensions, these various noncash forms of assistance to the poor constituted the bulk of the US welfare state until the early twentieth century, when "mothers' pensions" (Leff 1973, 397) finally broke through the states' strong distaste for "outdoor" relief (i.e., income support; Patterson 1994, 20).

The Social Security Act of 1935 (42 U.S.C.) marked a sea change in US welfare provision. Not only did the federal government take on dramatically enhanced responsibility for citizen well-being, but income support took center stage. At the same time, however, the act provided for a range of service-based forms of assistance, including maternal and child health services, child protection, vocational rehabilitation for the disabled, and public health services. In keeping with longstanding traditions of publicprivate provision of noncash assistance, it explicitly allowed for states to purchase these services from private charitable organizations (e.g., 42 U.S.C. Title V, Section 503(a)(6); Title V, Section 513(a)(6)). Amendments to the act in 1962 and 1967 set the stage for significant growth in servicebased forms of aid to the poor, often through purchase-of-service contracts with private nonprofit organizations (Cohen and Ball 1968; Derthick 1975; Lynn 2002). The creation of Medicare and Medicaid in 1965 opened up a new conduit for the public purchase of medical and related services.

In sum, while income transfers may be the most visible form of present-day public welfare provision, the US government arguably spends at least an equal amount on services to help secure citizens' well-being. For example, 2010 data show that income transfers represented approximately 45 percent of federal social welfare spending, while medical insurance accounted for about 38 percent, and social services approximately 17 percent (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities 2012; United States Department of Health

and Human Services 2012).¹ Public spending on services is a critical part of the social benefit package of low-income people. As Scott Allard (2009) documents, US governments spend far more on social services for the poor than on means-tested income transfers. Furthermore, the 1996 welfare reform, which limited the time poor people can receive income transfers, is likely to make social services an increasingly large component of this group's social benefit package (Allard 2009).²

For some time now, a large majority of publicly funded social services have been provided by private, mostly nonprofit organizations under contract with the government (Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1986; Katz [1986] 1996; Smith and Lipsky 1993; Salamon 1995). The importance of these services to the well-being of low-income people has led to 3 decades of scholarship that explores the various ways that government funding impacts nonprofit organizations, including their programming, staffing, management, governance, client selection, outcomes, and related concerns (Kramer 1982, 1994; DeHoog 1984; Grønbjerg 1993; Smith and Lipsky 1993; Provan and Milward 1994; Lynn 2002; O'Regan and Oster 2002; Luksetich 2008; Garrow 2011; Mosley 2012). One such line of research explores access to service providers as a function of providers' geographic location (Bielefeld 2000; Twombly 2001; Allard, Tolman, and Rosen 2003; Joassart-Marcelli and Wolch 2003; Twombly and Auer 2004; Allard 2009). This work helps raise the question of how distinctive features of the social services form of welfare provision might impact individuals, families, and communities.

We argue in this article that social services are marked by two provision mechanisms distinct from those that characterize income transfers or government-sponsored medical insurance and thus that it is necessary to examine more fully how social services become available to citizens. This study goes beyond prior work that investigates whether service-providing

^{1.} This estimate of income transfers includes Social Security (retirement, disability, and survivors payments), Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), Supplemental Security Income (SSI), the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), and the Child Care Tax Credit. The estimate of medical insurance includes Medicare, Medicaid, and the Child Health Insurance Program. Calculations of these percentages, based on these two sources, are available upon request.

^{2.} The time limits are true of TANF benefits, though not of SSI benefits, which some recent research shows may be becoming a partial substitute for TANF (Zedlewski and Alderson 2001; United States General Accounting Office 2002; Wamhoff and Wiseman 2005–6).

organizations are located in areas where needy citizens live (Bielefeld 2000; Twombly 2001; Joassart-Marcelli and Wolch 2003; Twombly and Auer 2004; Allard 2009) to inquire about the extent to which these organizational turnkeys actually channel public dollars to those areas. We draw on a unique data set to explore how public funding for social services is distributed across geographic space and to investigate whether there is a spatial match between socioeconomic need and the distribution of these public dollars.

ALLOCATION AND ACCESSIBILITY OF PUBLICLY FUNDED SOCIAL SERVICES

We estimate that social services represent approximately 17 percent of the federal social welfare budget, though this figure surely underestimates the total amount of public resources spent on social services, for two reasons. First, a number of studies note that estimates of federal social services spending are far less reliable than estimates of income transfer and medical insurance spending, due to the difficulty of locating service-based expenditures within complex public budgets (Smith and Lipsky 1993; Garfinkel et al. 2005; Allard 2009). Second, state and local governments usually allocate additional funds for social services, indicating that the amount of public funds spent on these services goes significantly beyond the federal amount.⁴

The accessibility of social services also differs from that of other public provision; the mechanisms by which social services become available to individuals differ from how people access either income transfers or government-sponsored medical insurance. Income transfer policies are based on standardized eligibility rules and come directly to individuals in the form of automatic payments. Most importantly, with the exception of TANF, there is no spending cap for funding the various income transfer programs, Social Security, SSI, EITC, and the Child Care Tax Credit. As such, funding and delivery of income transfers are tightly linked. Government-sponsored medical insurance also has standardized eligibility rules and, furthermore, is an entitlement. Although insured individuals

^{3.} For a study of the geographic distribution of private philanthropic dollars to social service providers, see Reckhow and Weir (2012).

^{4.} Some of the funds allocated by states come from the federal government, such as Community Development Block Grant or Social Services Block Grant funds. In most states, however, state and local tax-levy dollars are added to the federal funds.

must find their own service providers, payment for service usually goes directly from government to the provider, ensuring a strong link between funding and delivery of medical insurance. Of course, eligibility for both income transfers and medical insurance is determined by caseworkers who may apply the same rules differently for different recipients (Lipsky 1980; Watkins-Hayes 2009; Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011). Compared with both income transfers and medical insurance, however, the social services piece of the welfare state is characterized by mechanisms that separate funding from service delivery.

First, executive agencies at the local, state, and federal levels generally fund their social services budgets through discretionary legislative appropriations. These appropriations are usually capped at a fixed level that may or may not be related to citizen need. While state and local governments receive some social services funds through formula-based allocations from higher levels of government (e.g., the federal Social Services Block Grant sends funds to state governments based on population), the overall appropriation is still fixed by legislative mandate. This is distinct from either income transfers or medical insurance, where any individual who meets the eligibility criteria can receive assistance. In contrast, the funding mechanism for social services means that citizen access to these services frequently constitutes a zero-sum game.

A second major distinction in the social services delivery mechanism is that a large proportion of these services are contracted out, usually to private, nonprofit providers. This creates an indirect relationship between government and its beneficiaries, mediated by the private, serviceproviding organization (cf. Milward and Provan 2000). The accessibility of publicly supported social services thus depends not only on individual eligibility but also on the location of service providers and the ease of finding providers. Whereas income transfers are sent directly to individuals via direct deposit, a check, or an electronic benefits card, both social services and medical services must be accessed at a particular location (e.g., Fossett and Peterson 1989; Mitchell 1991; Allard et al. 2003; Rodriguez et al. 2007; Allard 2009; Ku, Jones, and Shin 2011). For example, health, mental health, and drug treatment counseling may be delivered at community clinic sites. If these clinics are located close to clients' homes, they are more likely to attend regularly than if the clinics are far away (Kaplan et al. 1998; Appel et al. 2004; Choi and Gonzalez 2005; Yang et al. 2006; Bazzoli et al. 2012). Similarly, subsidized housing is built in specific neighborhoods. If this housing is located far away from friends

and family, residents are more likely to suffer from a lack of social support (Goetz 2003; Venkatesh and Celimli 2004; Briggs, Popkin, and Goering 2010). In other words, the location of medical and social services intersects with other aspects of individuals' lives; affecting the extent to which clients (and potential clients) benefit from services. Thus, the bureaucratic process by which these services are allocated to particular places is critical to analysis of the welfare state.⁵

In addition to the distinctive mechanisms by which publicly funded social services become available to citizens, the ongoing devolution of policy decisions from the federal level to states, counties, and municipalities calls our attention to the actions of these lower levels of the federal system. Devolution has made state and municipal officials increasingly responsible for deciding how to spend federal dollars in a variety of program areas (Caputo 1994; Conlan 1998; Winston 2002; Gainsborough 2003; Fellowes and Rowe 2004; Lambright and Allard 2004; Bishop 2006). Social services funding combines federal dollars with state and local appropriations, and decisions about how to allocate this money—including which nonprofit organizations will receive government contracts to deliver social services lie in the hands of state and local executive agency staff. Analyses of the current relationship between government and nonprofit organizations thus need to focus more on state- and city-level data (e.g., Grønbjerg 1993; Savas 2002).

After state and municipal legislatures determine budget allocations for particular areas of social service, such as day care, elderly services, or employment training, decisions about how to allocate those dollars pass to the executive agencies. Sometimes, these agencies use funds to provide services directly to clients. Allard, for example, finds that in three large US cities, between 25 and 35 percent of social service providers are government agencies (Allard 2009, table A5). In most cases, however, government agencies construct bidding processes and invite private organizations, most of which are nonprofit organizations (NPOs), to compete for the opportunity to provide services. Which NPOs receive contracts to deliver services has direct

^{5.} The service delivery mechanism for Medicaid, the main publicly supported medical insurance program for the poor, is complex. In many cases, medical providers submit claims directly to Medicaid on behalf of Medicaid-enrolled individuals, and Medicaid pays the provider; this has similarities to the mechanism for income transfers and Medicare, although providers must still be located and accessed. In other cases, Medicaid allocates a lump sum to a provider for a specified quantity of a particular medical service; this mechanism is largely parallel to the social services allocation mechanism described here.

consequences for the geographic locations where services may or may not become available, thus determining who is most likely to access those services. In other words, contracts sent to NPOs in particular places mean that residents of those places are more likely to access those services, while equally needy people in places without such contract resources will be less able to obtain services. This structure of distribution demands the question of what actually happens in the process of government contract allocation to NPOs.

A few existing studies examine the location of NPOs within cities or metropolitan areas in order to understand the relationship between citizens' socioeconomic need and the availability of NPO services (Wolpert 1993; Bielefeld 2000; Twombly 2001; Joassart-Marcelli and Wolch 2003; Twombly and Auer 2004). Allard (2009) improves substantially on this approach by estimating the relationship between NPO location and the concentration of low-income people within a three-mile radius. Both techniques, however, are hampered by the reality that the existence of an NPO in a particular location is an indirect proxy for understanding the availability of service resources in that location. For example, one neighborhood may have multiple NPOs whose collective small amounts of government contract dollars add up to substantially fewer resources than another neighborhood with one or two NPOs with large contract allocations.

Since many nonprofit social service providers receive the large majority of their funds from government sources (Rosenthal 2000), the actual number of government dollars allocated within a given neighborhood is a better measure of service availability than the existence or number of NPOs in that neighborhood. In what follows, we draw on a data set constructed by the authors to examine the distribution of government contract dollars to NPOs in New York City. Our primary question of interest in this article is the relationship between the allocation of these funds and neighborhood need. We define *need* both broadly in terms of socioeconomic disadvantage and narrowly in relation to specific target populations for certain services.

METHOD

DATA

The primary data for the project are administrative records of all contracts to nonprofit organizations located in the five boroughs of New York City (Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx, Queens, and Staten Island), from all

New York City and New York State government agencies. These records were obtained from the New York City comptroller and the New York State comptroller, respectively, via requests filed under the city's and the state's separate freedom of information laws. The city and state comptroller's offices are centralized record keepers for their respective governments' expenditures. The data contain the full population of contracts to nonprofit organizations from 1997 through 2001. Data were transmitted to the authors in electronic database format.

Each contract entry includes information on the name of the non-profit organization receiving the contract; the street address, city, and zip code of the organization; the amount of the contract (in dollars); the start and end dates of the contract; and a brief narrative description of the contract purpose. The contracts from New York City also contain information on the community districts (administrative geographic units described below) where the service funded by the contract was to be provided. An organization may receive one or more contracts during the time period covered by the data.

The original data contained contracts that were active between the years 1997 and 2001 (inclusive), either because their start date fell within this time frame or because their start date was earlier but their end date fell within this period or later. Many of these contracts were for single years, but there were also numerous multiyear contracts (45.5 percent). We assume that funding will be uniformly distributed over the length of the contract and so we determine the amount of funding for each contract within our time interval by multiplying the total amount of the contract by the proportion of the total contract time that fell within the interval.

The data set contains 25,984 unique contracts; 5,241 of them come from New York City government agencies, while 20,653 come from New York State government agencies. Over our 5-year period, 5.2 billion dollars were allocated to organizations by New York City and 4.2 billion dollars were allocated to organizations by New York State.

CLASSIFYING CONTRACTS BY SERVICE TYPE

We assigned each contract to one of 23 service-type categories: advocacy, community development, crime, culture, day care, disabilities, education/training, elderly, employment training for the disabled, preemployment skills training, other employment-related, foster care, family preventive services, general operating support, AIDS-related health, mental health,

substance abuse treatment and prevention, other health-related, housing, immigration, rent/physical plant, youth programs, or other.⁶ Service codes were assigned based on the entry in the contract purpose field of the original data. In nearly all cases, this description was for a single type of service. Assigning service codes to contracts rather than to organizations addresses the issue that many nonprofit organizations provide multiple services, rendering organization-level service codes, such as the National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities Core Codes (NTEE-CC; National Center for Charitable Statistics 2013) poor proxies for the availability of specific services in neighborhoods.⁷ Contract-level service codes allow us to track the actual dollars spent on particular services in particular places.

We developed our coding scheme based on categories that emerged from the entries in the contract purpose field of the data set. We developed the initial set of coding categories using an open-coding approach (Miles and Huberman 1994) applied to a random selection of approximately 20 percent (n = 5,000) of the contract purpose entries. We then applied those initial categories to an additional randomly selected 20 percent (n = 5,000) of the contract purpose entries to examine how well the categories fit to additional data. After some adjustments, including the addition of new categories and the collapsing of some of the initial categories, we applied the revised categories to a new random selection of 20 percent (n = 5,000) of all the contract purpose entries, including entries that had been previously coded, to assess internal validity. We then developed a codebook for use in coding the rest of the data. Each code includes both a general description of the category, as well as a set of specific, repeated contract purpose entries found in the data that are assigned to each code.

We chose an emergent coding procedure rather than applying the NTEE-CC codes to the data, to accommodate both the contract-level

^{6. &}quot;Education/training" refers to programs for adults and out-of-school youth. The data set does not include any contracts for public K–12 education. For the analysis presented below, we collapse the codes for employment training for the disabled, preemployment skills training, and other employment-related codes into a single employment category and collapse the codes for foster care and family services into a single family services category.

^{7.} Fifty-nine percent of the organizations in our data set received contracts for only one type of service, 20 percent received contracts for two different types of services, and 21 percent received contracts for three or more different types of services. Note that any organization that received only one contract during the study period could by definition only have received contracts for one type of service.

(rather than organizational-level) approach, and the peculiarities of the New York City case. Four of our 23 codes fall into two different Major Group NTEE-CC codes (i.e., the letter codes, such as *A* for "arts, culture, and humanities"). Six of our codes fall within the single NTEE-CC *P* category for "human services." Three of our codes fall within the single NTEE-CC *J* category for "employment." Eight of the NTEE-CC letter categories are not applicable to our data. Three of our codes do not fall into any NTEE-CC letter category (general operating support, rent/physical plant, and member item).

In addition to our 23 service codes, we also categorized some contracts as member items. Member items are allocations of government funds that are awarded by elected members of the legislative branch, rather than by the bureaucratic agencies controlled by the executive branch. In New York, member items have long been part of the city and state budget processes. The practices governing member-item spending at the city and state levels are generally the same. In each case, the leader of the legislative body (in the city's unicameral legislature, the city council speaker; in the state's bicameral legislature, both the assembly speaker and the senate majority leader, acting independently) allocates a pot of funds to each legislator in his or her body. These amounts vary substantially among legislators, and in general favor members of the party that controls the chamber. The legislative leader usually reserves the largest pot of funds for his/her own use (Hakim 2007; *New York Times* 2011). Each legislator can use the money to allocate contracts of any size to nonprofit organizations of his or her choosing.

Unfortunately, member items were not identified in the city and state data in the same manner, creating some difficulty in making the two data sets symmetric. In the state data, member items were identified as such in the contract purpose field. In most cases, being a member item was the only description of the contract purpose; that is, there is no indication of the substantive service area to which these contracts were directed. In contrast, although we have verified that the city data does contain the member item contracts, only three member items were identified as such.⁸ Instead, the city data's contract purpose field contained a description of the substantive service for which the contract was used. Thus, for the state data we have more information on which contracts were member items, but these member items often cannot be traced back to the actual ser-

^{8.} Interview with staff member at the New York City Council budget office, February 5, 2013.

vice being provided. Overall, although the number of member item contracts in the state data is large, these contracts only account for 3 percent of total state funding. We experimented with sensitivity analyses by removing identifiable member items from both the state and city data, and our results are largely robust to this deletion. For the analysis that follows, we include member item contracts.

ALLOCATING CONTRACTS SPATIALLY

We identify the spatial location of each contract based on the street address of the receiving organization. However, because contract administration is carried out at the program level (this level is a sublevel of the executive agencies, which run multiple programs), the comptroller's offices frequently had different versions of the same organization's name and address. In order to ensure the accurate aggregation of all relevant contracts to a single organization, we standardized all versions of the name and address found in the original contract records. Using this process, we determined that the 25,984 contracts contained in the original data were awarded to 3,725 unique nonprofit organizations.

Street addresses were then geocoded to two different boundaries of analytical interest: New York City health areas and New York City community districts. New York City health areas were drawn in 1927 in order to provide an administrative boundary for tracking health data that was larger than a census tract, but small enough to constitute a socially meaningful community (Drolet and Guilfoy 1930). Originally, there were 270 health areas, later expanded to 354. These analyses use health areas as the primary proxy for neighborhoods. A number of health areas are currently manufacturing and industrial areas or public parks and other green space. After excluding these cases, there are 336 health areas for analysis.

New York City community districts are administrative boundaries established in 1975 to provide city government with a local policy advisory mechanism. There are 59 community districts, each with a board composed of up to 50 unsalaried, appointed members; the boards have advisory powers only. These geographic areas are generally too large to think of meaningfully as neighborhoods, but the city data provide information

^{9.} Regrettably, neither the state nor the city would release the federal Employer Identification Numbers of the contract recipients, citing privacy concerns not overridden by the freedom of information laws.

on the community district(s) where the service paid for by the contract would be delivered. These indicated service locations are sometimes different from the community district where the organization is located. We utilize this information to overcome an important limitation discussed below.

IDENTIFYING DISTRIBUTIVE ORGANIZATIONS

In determining the geographic allocation of contract dollars, it is important to distinguish between organizations that spend money in their immediate geographic area and those that distribute their services more widely. For instance, the Throggs Neck Homeowners Association's address is listed in the database as 256 Throggs Neck Boulevard in the Bronx, and because the organization serves residents of the Throggs Neck neighborhood only, we term it a *local organization*. By contrast, the Trust for Public Land, an environmental organization whose address appears in the database as 666 Broadway (in lower Manhattan), used contract dollars to support activities at multiple locations in New York City. Thus, we term it a *distributive organization*. Using this logic, for each organization that appears in the data set, we have added a field that indicates whether an organization provides services in its immediate area (a local organization) or provides services more widely throughout the city (a distributive organization).

Each organization was assigned to be either local or distributive based on information gleaned from either prior ethnographic research conducted by the first author (Marwell 2004, 2007) or an online search for the organization. Online searches produce a variety of information, including organizational websites, press articles, user evaluations, IRS Form 990s, New York corporation status, and so on. Using these multiple sources, we determined an organization was a local organization if it had a mission statement or client service area that focused on up to three adjacent neighborhoods. Using these same sources, we determined an organization was distributive if it had a mission statement or client service area that covered more than three adjacent neighborhoods, one or more boroughs, or the entire city.¹⁰

10. Online searches were conducted in 2011, which is at least 10 years after the contracts in the data set were allocated. We recognize that the local or distributive status of organizations may have changed during this period, especially in the case of local organizations that

Once the coding rules for local and distributive organizations were determined, the authors conducted a reliability test. Each author coded the same random sample of 400 organizations (approximately 10 percent of the total organizations), and the two authors' codes were then compared. Intercoder reliability was determined to be 92 percent. With intercoder reliability sufficiently established, codes for local and distributive organizations were applied to all remaining organizations in the data set.

Distributive organizations account for the majority of money allocated (state: 71 percent; city: 69 percent), despite making up only around half of the contracts awarded (state: 52 percent; city: 45 percent). This is because the mean dollar amount of contracts awarded to distributive organizations is much larger than the mean dollar amount of contracts awarded to local organizations (state: \$2,323,515 distributive and \$947,002 local; city: \$438,573 distributive and \$202,195 local).

In all of the analyses that follow, we consider funding to local and distributive organizations separately. The spatial distribution of the latter sort of funding is problematic, because distributive organizations by definition spend their money in neighborhoods beyond the one in which they are located (although they may also spend money in their own neighborhood). In order to better gauge how distributive organizations spend their money, we perform a separate analysis of city contracts only. The city contract data contain a field that indicates the community district in which the services were actually delivered. This improves our ability to assess where the money that is awarded to distributive organizations is actually spent, although some neighborhood variability is lost by using the larger community district boundaries. Additionally, for about 42 percent of contracts to distributive organizations, the field indicating the location of service indicates that services were provided either throughout a particular borough (hereafter "boroughwide") or across the entire city (hereafter "citywide"). Because we have no basis for making an assumption about how these funds are distributed, and any assumption will largely drive our conclusions, the analysis below uses only the 58 percent of contracts where the data indi-

grew to serve multiple neighborhoods. Every effort was made to utilize online information to determine whether the organization had been local or distributive at the time that the contract was allocated. This included making extensive use of organizational histories when those were available on organizational websites. A very small percentage of organizations (less than 1 percent) in the data set had no online information available. These contracts were excluded from the analysis.

cated that services were delivered in a specific community district (or districts).

DESCRIPTIVE FINDINGS

ALLOCATIONS

We calculate a measure of total funding to health areas and community districts by summing up the amount of each contract spent within the time interval for all contracts awarded to organizations within that geographic unit. At the community district level, when a contract record indicates that an organization spent that contract's funds in multiple specific community districts, we divide funding proportionally by population size across all indicated community districts. Because both health areas and community districts vary in population size, we divide the total amount of funding over the 5-year period by five times the population size to get the average annual funding per capita.

Table 1 summarizes the four measures of funding per capita we use for our analysis. Funding per capita at the level of health areas provides us with more fine-grained detail about spatial allocation to geographic boundaries closely approximating neighborhoods but allows us to examine spatial allocation based only on the location of organizations. The community district data, on the other hand, allow us to determine more accurately how money is dispersed spatially by distributive organizations themselves because we can analyze spatial allocation based on the location of the service, although this comes at the cost of the finer detail of health areas and is only available for contracts awarded by the city. Furthermore, a substantial component of allocation at the community district level remains invisible because we have no way to evaluate the spatial allocation of contracts that were reported to be boroughwide and citywide.

TABLE 1. Average Annual Funding per Capita in Dollars, by Geographical Unit, Organization Type, and Source

Geography	Туре	Source	Mean	Median	IQR
Health area	Local	City + state	93.3	32.4	102.8
Community district	Local	City	45.0	29.6	47.0
Health area	Distributive	City + state	167.9	2.9	61.9
Community district	Distributive*	City	47.6	31.0	45.5

Note.—IQR = interquartile range.

^{*} Distributive funding at the community district level does not include citywide and boroughwide contracts.

Over the time period of study, the average New York health area resident received about \$93.00 in services from local organizations per year and about \$168.00 in services from distributive organizations. The numbers are lower at the community district level because we only use city data and exclude all boroughwide and citywide funding. In every case, the medians are much smaller than the means and the interquartile ranges are quite large, indicating a high degree of inequality across neighborhoods in the amount of funds that they receive. Figure 1 shows the distribution of funding per capita to health areas by the city and state. Both distributions are heavily right skewed. The majority of health areas received small amounts of funding per capita (under \$100/person) with a small minority of health areas receiving thousands of dollars per person. In terms of total funding, all health areas received some money over this time period. However, when we separate funding by service types, the majority of health areas received no funding for any given service type over the time period. Incorporating this source of spatial variability into the analysis below is a major methodological challenge.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of contract dollars across service types for the city and state. City funding is heavily concentrated in day care and family services, whereas state funding is heavily concentrated in health services. For both the city and state, the majority of funding within each service type goes to distributive organizations. The two exceptions

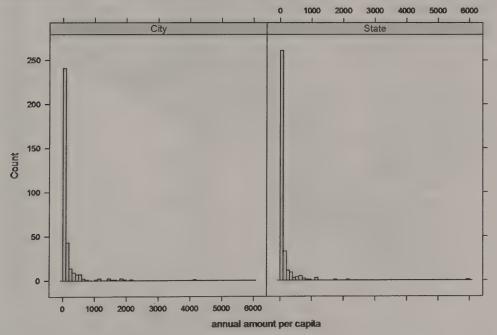


FIGURE 1. Histogram of average annual contract dollars per capita across health areas, 1997–2001, by city and state.

are funding for day care and elderly services, which primarily flows to local organizations. Figure 3 shows maps of New York City indicating the spatial distribution of funding per capita across health areas. This figure clearly shows a high concentration of funding in midtown and downtown Manhattan for distributive organizations and less funding outside of Manhattan (left panel), whereas the allocation of funding to local organizations is less concentrated in midtown and downtown Manhattan, but also shows a great deal of variability across health areas (right panel).

NEED

We calculate neighborhood characteristics for each health area and community district using Census 2000 data, and measure socioeconomic disadvantage using median household income, the poverty rate, and the unemployment rate. We also calculate the relative size of three important populations that are targeted by specific types of social services: the foreign-born population, families with children, and the population age 65 years

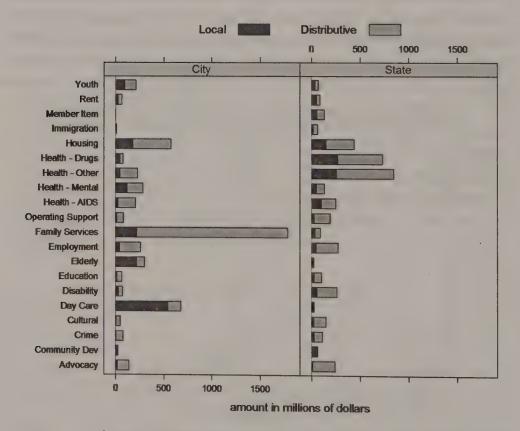


FIGURE 2. Total amount of dollars allocated to service areas in New York City, 1997–2001, separately by city and state and local/distributive organizations.



FIGURE 3. The spatial distribution of average annual funding per capita across New York health areas, separately to local and distributive organizations

TABLE 2. Summary Statistics for Neighborhood Characteristics of Health Areas and Community Districts

	Health Areas			Community Districts		
	Mean	Median	IQR	Mean	Median	IQR
Total population	23,145	21,886	14,712	135,394	128,576	61,505
Median income	37,884	34,531	21,675	39,618	36,774	20,134
Poverty rate	23.8	20.7	20.7	22.4	19.6	18.0
Unemployment rate	11.6	9.5	9.8	10.9	9.4	7.4
Percent foreign-born	33.8	30.6	22.5	34.2	34.8	20.0
Percent sixty-five and older	11.4	10.5	5.8	11.5	11.2	4.3
Percent households with children	32.1	33.1	15.5	31.1	33.9	11.4
Number of neighborhoods		336			59	

Note.—IQR = interquartile range.

and older. Summary statistics for all of these variables are shown in table 2.

The three measures of socioeconomic disadvantage are highly collinear and preliminary analysis revealed problems of variance inflation and model estimation as a result of this collinearity. For this reason, we used factor analysis to combine these three measures into a single index of socioeconomic disadvantage. This single index explained 83 percent and 89 percent of the variation in the three variables for health areas and community districts, respectively, and the factor loading for each variable was greater than .85 in all cases. The socioeconomic disadvantage index has a mean of zero and standard deviation of one.

ASSESSING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ALLOCATION AND NEED

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

Our primary goal is to examine the association between funding and measures of neighborhood need. Total dollars per capita received within each health area or community district is the dependent variable for the analysis that follows, presenting two methodological challenges. First, as figure 1 shows, this variable is severely right skewed, so that some form of transformation is required to reduce the influence of extreme values. Sec-

^{11.} We also experimented with a measure of the prevalence of single-parent households. However, this measure was highly collinear with our three measures of socioeconomic disadvantage and made model estimation difficult.

ond, when we break funding down by service type, the amount of dollars spent in a neighborhood is zero for the majority of neighborhoods for most service types. Thus, an important source of variation in funding for a particular service type is that a significant number of neighborhoods receive no funding for many service types.

Log transformation is the generally preferred method to handle rightskewed variables. However, the log transformation is undefined for zero values, and so we must consider how to treat these zero values. Dropping zero values or imputing them is not acceptable because either method would severely distort our measure of spatial variation given the large number of zero values in our dependent variables. Tobit models are sometimes used in the presence of a large number of zero values, but such models are inappropriate in our case because the assumption underlying the Tobit model that zeros are produced by an underlying latent continuous variable does not describe our data well. Furthermore, in order to log the dependent variable in a Tobit model, one must still impute a value for the zeros. Another approach is to run two separate models, one that predicts nonzero values using a binary dependent variable and a second that estimates funding given that it is nonzero. This method is also inappropriate here, because it misrepresents the process of contract allocation as a twostage process.

We model the relationship between funding per capita and neighborhood characteristics using a poisson generalized linear model with an over-dispersion parameter estimated via quasi-maximum likelihood (Woolridge 1997).¹² The poisson model has been shown to be more robust than other methods for dependent variables with skewed nonnegative distributions, such as those observed in these data (Nichols 2010).

The generalized linear model framework resolves our problem with zero values. Because we are predicting the log of the expected value of y_i

12. Although the poisson model is generally thought of as a model for count data, it can be used to model noncount and even noninteger data. Its primary limitation is the assumption that the variance of the dependent variable must equal its expected value. Because our data do not arise from a Poisson process, there is no reason to believe that this assumption is accurate. However, this assumption can be relaxed by the inclusion of an overdispersion parameter. An alternative approach would be to use Huber-White robust standard errors. However, this technique cannot be implemented in the models to account for spatial autocorrelation. In models without spatial autocorrelation, the robust standard errors were quite similar to those produced by accounting for overdispersion via quasi-maximum likelihood.

as a linear function of the independent variables rather than the expected value of the log of y_i as would be the case for an OLS regression model with a log-transformed dependent variable, zero values for y_i are not problematic for our estimation procedure. The expected value for each neighborhood is positive even if the observed value is actually zero.

Exponentiated coefficients from our models can be interpreted as the multiplicative change in expected funding per capita for a one-unit increase in the independent variable. When coefficients are small, they can be interpreted directly as the approximate percentage change in expected funding per capita for a one-unit increase in the independent variable.

The maps shown in figure 3 suggest clustering of funding across neighborhoods in close proximity. Calculation of Moran's I, a standard measure of spatial autocorrelation, for each of our measures of funding also indicated that such spatial autocorrelation was present in the data (Bivand, Pebesma, and Gomez-Rubio 2008). We account for spatial autocorrelation between neighborhoods in our models by the use of a Gaussian variogram based on the Euclidean distance between the centroid of each neighborhood.¹³

Our analysis proceeds in two steps. First we examine the relationship between neighborhood characteristics and our four measures of funding per capita across all service codes combined. We then estimate models for each service code in order to assess whether funding for certain types of services displays a stronger connection to neighborhood need.

RESULTS

Funding across All Service Types

Figure 4 shows the relationship between each of our measures of funding per capita and the neighborhood socioeconomic disadvantage index, based on the predicted values from poisson models (minus the intercept to aid in comparison). We focus first on the left-hand panel, which shows the relationship between funding and socioeconomic disadvantage across health areas for the city and state contracts combined. Funding to local organizations is positively associated with socioeconomic disadvantage, but fund-

^{13.} This approach assumes that the spatial correlation between any two neighborhoods is equal to $\exp((-d/r)^2)$, where d is the Euclidean distance between the two neighborhoods and r is a range parameter estimated from the model (Bivand et al. 2008).

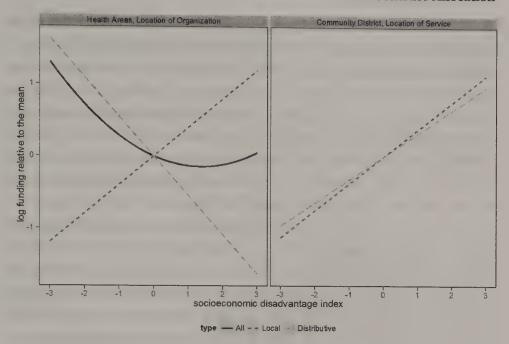


FIGURE 4. The relationship between neighborhood socioeconomic disadvantage and funding per capita, by organization type, organization location, and service location.

ing to distributive organizations is negatively associated with socioeconomic disadvantage. Both coefficients are statistically distinguishable from zero (local, *p*-value < .001; distributive, *p*-value < .05). We also plot the relationship between total funding and socioeconomic disadvantage with a quadratic term to allow for nonlinearity. The two divergent relationships for local and distributive organizations combine to create a nonlinear relationship between socioeconomic disadvantage and overall funding. However, because the dollars allocated to distributive organizations exceed the dollars allocated to local organizations, the overall trend for all funding is a generally negative, albeit diminishing, relationship.

This result indicates that local organizations are more likely to be located in more disadvantaged neighborhoods and are thus at least somewhat responsive to the neediest populations. Distributive organizations, on the other hand, tend to be located in more advantaged neighborhoods. The overall negative effect is largely driven by the heavy concentration of distributive organizations in midtown and lower Manhattan. When Manhattan health areas are excluded from the model the effect is very close to zero (b = .003).

However, it may be that while distributive organizations are located in the most advantaged neighborhoods, they do as well or better at distributing services to needy neighborhoods as do local organizations. The right-hand panel thus examines the community district data on the location of service for the city contracts. For local organizations, we observe a very similar positive relationship between this measure of funding per capita and socioeconomic disadvantage, and also see a similar positive relationship for this measure of funding to distributive organizations, albeit with citywide and boroughwide contracts removed. Both of these effects are statistically distinguishable from zero (*p*-value < .05) and statistically indistinguishable from one another. These results suggest that in terms of the location of services, funding to both local and distributive organizations is positively associated with socioeconomic need.

Table 3 shows models that add variables on the relative size of targeted populations. As in figure 4, we find a positive association between the disadvantage index and three of the four measures of allocation. For distributive funding by health area, the association is no longer negative but remains effectively zero. The results for the targeted populations vary in size but are consistently negative across all three populations and all four measures of funding per capita. Increases in the population share of the foreign-born population, the elderly population, and families with children are associated with reduced funding per capita to neighborhoods for services targeted to those populations, holding socioeconomic disadvantage constant. Although

TABLE 3. Estimated Parameters from Poisson Models Predicting Average Annual Local and Distributive Funding per Capita to Health Areas and Community Districts by Neighborhood Characteristics, New York City, 1997–2001

	Heal	ith Area	Community Districts		
Variable	Local	Distributive	Local	Distributive ^a	
Disadvantage index	.472***	.081	.538***	.468***	
	(.128)	(.226)	(.138)	(.111)	
Percentage foreign-born	015 ⁺	- .019	−.028**	016*	
	(.008)	(.014)	(.010)	(.007)	
Percentage age 65 and over	−.052 ⁺	089**	044	- .168***	
	(.028)	(.031)	(.039)	(.034)	
Percentage of households with children	- .033**	101***	044***	065***	
	(.011)	(.017)	(.012)	(.010)	
N	336	336	59	59	

Note.—Standard errors in parentheses. All models include parameters for overdispersion and spatial autocorrelation.

^a Distributive funding at the community district level does not include citywide and boroughwide contracts.

⁺ p < .10.

^{*} p < .05.

^{**} p < .01.

^{***} p < .001.

the analyses are not shown, these negative results hold even without so-cioeconomic disadvantage included as a control. Thus, while some evidence suggests a positive match between socioeconomic need and the spatial allocation of services, other evidence suggests a mismatch between the spatial allocation of overall funding and particular populations that have a higher need for specific kinds of services. However, it may still be the case that these populations receive more funding for particular services that are relevant to their needs.

Funding within Service Types

We now move to models estimated separately for each service type. Figure 5 shows the regression coefficient measuring changes in the log of expected funding by socioeconomic disadvantage for each service type. The panel on the left is based on the health area where the organization is located and the panel on the right is based on the community district where the service is provided.

For health areas, the difference between distributive and local organizations found above is replicated across almost all service types. Every coefficient is negative for distributive organizations, while almost all of the coefficients are positive for local organizations. Within each organization

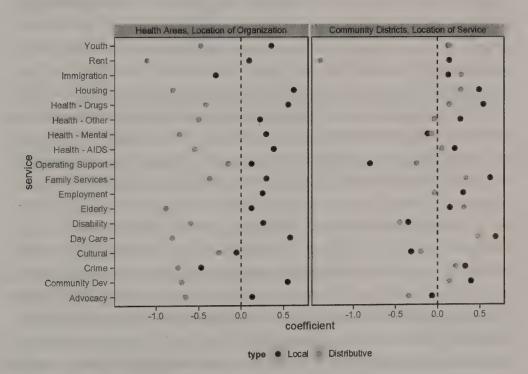


FIGURE 5. Dot plot of regression coefficients for the relationship between funding per capita and socioeconomic disadvantage for each service type.

type, there is some variability in the size of the coefficient, but the striking feature is the consistency of positive and negative effects for local and distributive organizations, respectively. Thus, for all service types, distributive organizations tend to be located in more socioeconomically advantaged neighborhoods and for almost all service types, local organizations tend to be located in more socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The results for the right panel, which looks at the community district where services are delivered, are more mixed. For both local and distributive organizations, some associations are positive and some are negative and the results are not consistently higher for local organizations.

To examine the relationship between funding for specific service types and the prevalence of the population targeted by those services within a neighborhood, we select four service types that should be tied to these particular demographic groups: for the foreign-born population, funding for immigration-related services; for the elderly population, funding for elderly services; and for families with children, funding for family services and day care, separately. For each of these service types, we run a model that includes both the disadvantage index, the relative size of the demographic group that those services should be targeting, and the interaction between these two variables. The main effect of the relative size of the group indicates the extent to which funding increases with the prevalence of the targeted population when the neighborhood is at a citywide average level of disadvantage. The interaction term indicates whether more or less funding is allocated to those targeted populations as neighborhood disadvantage increases or decreases. Table 4 shows the results of these models, which indicate a relatively weak association between the allocation of funding and the concentration of populations in need of specific services. For immigration and elderly services, the results suggest that funding to local organizations is more likely to flow to the targeted populations (immigrants and the elderly, respectively). For the funding of elderly services, this targeted allocation toward the elderly increases with the level of disadvantage in the neighborhood as indicated by the substantial and statistically significant positive interaction term, but the same does not appear to be true for the funding of immigrant services toward immigrants. Neither of these findings holds for distributive funding, even when analyzed by the location of services at the community district level. In fact, in clear contrast to the finding for local organizations, the funding for elderly services seems to be allocated away from the poorest elderly, as indicated by the

TABLE 4. Estimated Parameters from Poisson Models Predicting Average Annual Funding Per Capita for Particular Services across Health Areas by Selected Neighborhood Need Variables, New York City, 1997–2001

	Health Area		Community District	
Variable	Local	Distributive	Local	Distributive ^a
Immigration services:				
Disadvantage index	019		.378	.354
	(.489)		(.294)	(.509)
Percentage foreign-born	.064**		.054**	013
	(.021)		(.019)	(.033)
Disadvantage × percentage foreign-born	.030		.040	.009
	(.028)		(.027)	(.043)
Elderly services:	` '		(/	(.0 10)
Disadvantage index	333+	- .747	.194	.104
<u> </u>	(.186)	(.470)	(.277)	(.233)
Percentage age 65 and over	.061	.048	.006	010
	(.040)	(.103)	(.072)	(.060)
Disadvantage × percentage age 65 and over	.089*	002	.021	—.118*
parameter age as and over	(.044)	(.089)	(.070)	(.049)
Day care:	(,	(.000)	(.070)	(.043)
Disadvantage index	.938***	.715+	1.114***	1.319**
	(.140)	(.382)	(.192)	(.394)
Percentage households with children	070***	147***	059**	— .111**
To de titale troube troube with a march	(.130)	(.029)	(.020)	(.033)
Disadvantage × percentage households	(.150)	(.023)	(.020)	(.000)
with children	007	.018	022	.027
With official	(.009)	(.017)	(.014)	(.019)
Family services:	(.003)	(.017)	(.014)	(.019)
Disadvantage index	.684*	.572*	.805*	.716***
Disadvantage index	(.340)	(.272)	(.385)	
Percentage households with children	042	(.272) 110***	.019	(.109) 020
reicentage nousenotus with children	(.034)			
Disadvantaga V parcentaga householde	(.034)	(.022)	(.044)	(.010)
Disadvantage × percentage households with children	064 ⁺	.006	_ 017	000
with chitaren			017	.009
	(.035)	(.015)	(.030)	(800.)

Note.—Standard errors in parentheses. All models include parameters for overdispersion and spatial autocorrelation. Independent variables are mean centered for interpretive convenience. The variance in immigration service funding across health areas was too low to estimate models for distributive organizations.

substantial and statistically significant negative interaction term at the community district level.

For both day care and family services, we find evidence that funding is actually less likely to be allocated in neighborhoods with a high prevalence of families with children than in neighborhoods with a low prevalence of these families. There is little evidence that this negative targeting changes

^a Distributive funding at the community district level does not include citywide and boroughwide contracts.

p < .10.

^{*} p < .05.

^{**} p < .01.

^{***} p < .001.

with the level of disadvantage in the neighborhood and what evidence there is, actually suggests a negative association (local organizations by health area) such that money is least likely to go to areas with a high concentration of poor families. Thus, there seems to be a clear mismatch in the allocation of funds for social services targeted to families with children and the spatial concentration of those families.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The privatized delivery of most publicly supported social services makes the variable allocation of funding for services across geographic space an important question for public policy. The foregoing analysis takes an important step in furthering understanding of the availability of these services, which are a key piece of the contemporary welfare state, particularly for our lowest-income citizens. We improve upon prior studies that examine the location of nonprofit organizations in relation to lower-income areas by tracking the actual dollars present in needy neighborhoods, and thereby provide a stronger assessment of resource availability in the zero-sum game of service allocation across the city's geography. Needy citizens who reside in neighborhoods with fewer dollars available to support key social services have more limited opportunities to improve their current conditions and life chances than equally needy citizens who live in better-resourced neighborhoods. This study aims to understand the extent of this inequality.

The data offer a unique resource for tracking the distribution of government contract dollars for social services across neighborhoods in New York City. At the same time, there are some limitations to our ability to understand the specific location where those dollars actually produce services. The address field for each contract indicates a single location for the contract recipient. For organizations that operate multiple service locations, it is not clear whether the address information accurately reflects the location where the specific contract supports services. In this article we adopted two approaches to explicate this issue. First, we categorize all contract recipient organizations as either local (i.e., they deliver services in their immediate area) or distributive (i.e., they deliver services at multiple locations). This distinction allows us to understand which contracts are most clearly tied to specific locations (the contracts going to local organizations), while separating out the contracts that need further examination to make a loca-

tional attribution (the contracts going to distributive organizations). Second, we use a data field with additional locational information to examine contracts to distributive organizations, allowing us to determine, at the community district level, where services paid for with contracts to distributive organizations were actually delivered. While this information is only available for the contracts from New York City government, and specific community districts are identified for only 58 percent of the distributive organization contracts, this information strengthened the accuracy of our analysis.

For both local and distributive organizations, we examine the spatial match between neighborhood need and the allocation of contract dollars in two ways. First, we analyze the distribution of total funding for all service types to neighborhoods. Second, we examine how funding for four specific types of services—immigrant services, elderly services, day care, and family services—are matched to neighborhoods with populations most likely to make use of such services—the foreign-born, the elderly, and families with children.

We find that when the city and state allocate funds to local organizations, there is a positive and substantively strong relationship between the total amount of social services dollars distributed to neighborhoods and neighborhood disadvantage. In other words, when considering organizations that serve their immediate neighborhoods, the city and state do distribute the total package of contract dollars to the neighborhoods in greatest need. For funding allocated to distributive organizations, however, there is a negative relationship between the neighborhoods where the central offices of those organizations are located, and neighborhood disadvantage. This is largely because so many distributive organization headquarters are located in downtown and midtown Manhattan, which tend to be higherincome areas.

For the subset of contracts where we have available information on the community district where the service was provided, however, the data suggest that contract allocations to both local and distributive organizations are positively associated with neighborhood disadvantage. This suggests that the internal allocation processes of distributive organizations are roughly as efficient at getting money to needy populations as is the city government's own allocation process to local organizations. However, this latter analysis includes only the city data, and excludes the roughly 42 percent of city funding to distributive organizations that was classified

as boroughwide or citywide. Indeed, combining these location-unknown city contracts with all of the state contracts to distributive organizations (none of which had location information), there is a large black box in our understanding of where contracts allocated to distributive organizations actually end up making services available.

Analysts, practitioners, and government officials could all benefit from further research on this question, as there may be good reason to suspect that public dollars that go to distributive organizations are not flowing as efficiently to needy populations as are funds that go to local organizations. At the very least, the central offices of distributive organizations are much less likely to be physically located in the neediest neighborhoods than are local organizations. While public transit is widely available in New York City, there is certainly inequality in transit access, particularly for neighborhoods that are located far from the Manhattan sites where most distributive organizations are headquartered.¹⁴

The second set of analyses examined the allocation of contracts for specific types of services, paying particular attention to services that have clearly identifiable target populations. Across all service types, we find a pattern quite similar to that for our previous analysis of overall funding. That is, when looking at the location of the organization, allocation to local organizations is generally positively associated with disadvantage, while allocation to distributive organizations is generally negatively associated with disadvantage. When we analyze the subset of the data for which we have information on the location of the service, however, the advantage of sending contracts to local organizations is much less clear.

More importantly, however, the results for specific targeted populations reveal a relatively weak spatial match, and in some cases a spatial mismatch, between funding for specific service types and the prevalence of targeted populations. There is some evidence that local organizations are better at allocating funding toward more disadvantaged elderly and immigrant populations than distributive organizations, but both local and

^{14.} Some distributive organizations have satellite locations in neighborhoods other than their headquarters location, while others do not. It is not possible to determine from our data whether the service delivery location of a distributive organization represents a satellite location or some other form of decentralized service provision (e.g., subcontract to another service provider, temporary partnership with a government agency, or other private organization).

distributive organizations do a poor job of targeting families with children. Both day-care and family services funding are negatively associated with the concentration of families with children, and this result varies little by the overall level of neighborhood disadvantage. Further research on why day-care and family services funding are so poorly matched to need might consider whether day-care organizations in particular might be located in more commercial areas, that is, closer to parents' workplaces rather than their residences.

Our analysis suggests that the process of government contracting to nonprofit organizations raises several important public policy issues. The first is whether privatizing social services adequately provides needy citizens with access to potentially beneficial assistance. Our study of New York City offers mixed evidence for a positive association between contract dollars available and levels of general and specific need, suggesting that there is room for improvement both in the tracking of where distributive organizations make their services available, and in the matching of government funds to neighborhoods and populations of need.

Second, our analysis points to the importance of understanding the internal allocation processes undertaken by the nonprofit organizations we refer to as distributive. Again, better tracking in the data of where contract dollars to distributive organizations end up seems indicated. In addition, further research seems warranted on whether and how government agencies might attempt to constrain distributive organizations' use of specific contracts to target disadvantaged neighborhoods or populations.

Third, our finding that contracts to local organizations most consistently (though not always) match up with neighborhood disadvantage reinforces the important role that locally based, community-focused nonprofits play in poor places (cf. Marwell 2004, 2007). Whether this relationship remains true over an extended period of time is an important question, as is tracking the relative size of the segments of the nonprofit organizational population that are of the local as opposed to the distributive type. Both of these issues are likely to affect how accessible publicly supported social services are to needy individuals, families, and communities.

Finally, while this study shows that need is partially driving the allocation of social services contracts, the results are not conclusive. There are other factors that may drive the variation in contract dollars across neighborhoods, for instance the quality of an organization's services. While ideally public funds are spent on high-quality services, it seems likely that service quality is unequally distributed across organizations, and thus across neighborhoods. If the contract allocation process prefers the highest quality organizations, this preference may well exacerbate the spatial mismatch between service availability and need. Government agencies currently emphasizing performance measures of service quality would do well to anticipate this unintended consequence.

In addition, some service-providing organizations may choose not to locate themselves in the most disadvantaged areas, which may affect whether residents of high-need neighborhoods have equitable access to sites of service provision. Certainly the data show that distributive organizations, which receive a larger share of total contract dollars, and have contracts of larger average size compared to local organizations, are concentrated in better-off sections of Manhattan. Again, how well distributive organizations are able to provide service sites in poorer areas will affect service access for needy individuals, families, and communities. While our analysis shows that distributive organizations do as well as local organizations in targeting overall disadvantage, neither type of organization matches specific services (such as day care or elderly services) well with those services' targeted populations. These issues are especially important for distributive organizations since they receive a majority of total contract dollars.

A third potential factor driving the distribution of contracts may be political influence. As the first author (Marwell 2004) shows, local elected officials acting in concert with nonprofit organizations in their districts can exercise important influence over the contract allocation process. While political influence over contracting sometimes is plainly corruption, she argues that the "new machine politics" (278) can also be understood as a form of legitimate political organizing that seeks to influence our complicated present-day mechanisms for distributing public resources. Of course, the fixed sum available for social services contracts means that one organization's ability to influence allocations in its favor is another organization's loss. The importance of social services in the social benefit package of our poorest citizens led us to examine the relationship between the allocation of social service funding and community need, and we hope that future research will deepen understanding of how the distribution of scarce public resources affects different dynamics important to the lives of the poor.

NOTE

Nicole P. Marwell is associate professor of public affairs and sociology at Baruch College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York, and academic director of the Baruch Center for Nonprofit Strategy and Management. She is author of *Bargaining for Brooklyn: Community Organizations in the Entrepreneurial City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). Current work includes studies of the financial health of nonprofit organizations and a book about the Latina/o middle class.

Aaron Gullickson is assistant professor of sociology at the University of Oregon. His current work focuses on racial inequality and the maintenance of racial boundaries.

The support of the National Science Foundation Sociology Program (grant SES-0648320) is gratefully acknowledged. The authors thank the editor and reviewers of *Social Service Review* for helpful comments on an earlier version of the manuscript and also members of the Baruch College School of Public Affairs faculty seminar, especially Héctor Cordero-Guzmán, for useful suggestions at an earlier stage in the project.

REFERENCES

- Allard, Scott W. 2009. Out of Reach: Place, Poverty, and the New American Welfare State. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Allard, Scott, R. M. Tolman, and D. Rosen. 2003. "Proximity to Service Providers and Service Utilization among Welfare Recipients: The Interaction of Place and Race." Journal of Policy Analysis and Management 22:599–613.
- Appel, P. W., A. A. Ellison, H. K. Jansky, and R. Oldak. 2004. "Barriers to Enrollment in Drug Abuse Treatment and Suggestions for Reducing Them: Opinions of Drug-Injecting Street Outreach Clients and Other System Stakeholders." *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse* 30:129–53.
- Barrows, Isabel C. 1885. Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction at the Twelfth Annual Session. Boston: Ellis.
- Bazzoli, Gloria J., Woolton Lee, Hui-Min Hsieh, and Lee Rivers Mobley. 2012. "The Effects of Safety Net Hospital Closures and Conversions on Patient Travel Distance to Hospital Services." *Health Services Research* 47 (1): 129–50.
- Bielefeld, Wolfgang. 2000. "Metropolitan Nonprofit Sectors: Findings from NCCS Data." Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly 29:297–314.
- Bishop, S. W. 2006. "Nonprofit Federalism and the CSBG Program—Serving the Needs of the Working Poor in the Post-TANF Era." *Administration and Society* 37:695–718.
- Bivand, Roger S., Edzer J. Pebesma, and Virgilio Gómez-Rubio. 2008. *Applied Spatial Data Analysis with R.* New York: Springer.
- Briggs, Xavier de Souza, Susan J. Popkin, and John Goering. 2010. Moving to Opportunity:

 The Story of an American Experiment to Fight Ghetto Poverty. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Caputo, Richard K. 1994. Welfare and Freedom American Style: The Role of the Federal Government, 1941–1980. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. 2012. "Policy Basics: Where Do Our Federal Tax Dollars Go?" Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Washington, DC.http://www.cbpp.org/cms/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1258 (accessed March 25, 2012).
- Choi, Namkee G., and John M. Gonzalez. 2005. "Barriers and Contributors to Minority Older Adults' Access to Mental Health Treatment." *Journal of Gerontological Social Work* 44:115–35.
- Clemens, Elizabeth. 2006. "Lineages of the Rube Goldberg State: Building and Blurring Public Programs, 1900–1940." 187–215 in *Rethinking Political Institutions: The Art of the State*, edited by I. Shapiro, S. Skowronek, and D. Galvin. New York: NYU Press.
- Cohen, Wilbur J., and Robert M. Ball. 1968. "Social Security Amendments of 1967: Summary and Legislative History." *Social Security Bulletin* 31, no. 2 (February): 3–19.
- Conlan, Timothy. 1998. From New Federalism to Devolution: Twenty-Five Years of Intergovernmental Reform. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute.
- DeHoog, Ruth Hoogland. 1984. Contracting Out for Human Services. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Department of Finance Charitable Institutions Division. 1904. *Private Charitable Institutions in the City of New York*. New York: Department of Finance.
- Derthick, Martha. 1975. *Uncontrollable Spending for Social Services Grants*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Drolet, Godias J., and William H. Guilfoy. 1930. "Organization of Local Health Area Statistics in New York City." *American Journal of Public Health* 20 (4): 380–86.
- Fellowes, M. C., and G. Rowe. 2004. "Politics and the New American Welfare States." American Journal of Political Science 48:362–73.
- Fossett, J. W., and J. A. Peterson. 1989. "Physician Supply and Medicaid Participation: The Causes of Market Failure." *Medical Care* 27:386–96.
- Gainsborough, J. F. 2003. "To Devolve or Not to Devolve? Welfare Reform in the States." *Policy Studies Journal* 31:603–23.
- Garfinkel, Irwin, Howard Chernick, Patrick Villeneuve, and Marilyn Sinkewicz. 2005. "Social Welfare Expenditures in New York City and Beyond." Working paper, Columbia University School of Social Work.
- Garrow, Eve E. 2011. "Receipt of Government Revenue among Nonprofit Human Service Organizations." Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory 21:445–71.
- Goetz, Edward G. 2003. Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.
- Grønbjerg, Kirsten A. 1993. Understanding Nonprofit Funding: Managing Revenues in Social Services and Community Development Organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hakim, Danny. 2007. "Assembly's Member Items." New York Times, April 17, online edition.
- Hodgkinson, Virginia Ann, and Murray S. Weitzman. 1986. *Dimensions of the Independent Sector: A Statistical Profile*. Washington, DC: Independent Sector.
- Joassart-Marcelli, Pascale, and Jennifer R. Wolch. 2003. "The Intrametropolitan Geography of Poverty and the Nonprofit Sector in Southern California." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 32:70–96.

- Kaplan, D. W., B. N. Calonge, B. P. Guernsey, and M. B. Hanrahan. 1998. "Managed Care and School-Based Health Centers: Use of Health Services." *Archives of Pediatric and Adolescent Medicine* 152:25–33.
- Katz, Michael B. (1986) 1996. In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America. New York: Basic.
- Kramer, Ralph M. 1982. Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare State. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- -----. 1994. "Voluntary Agencies and the Contract Culture: 'Dream or Nightmare?'" Social Service Review 68 (1): 33–60.
- Ku, Leighton, Emily Jones, and Peter Shin. 2011. "Safety-Net Providers after Health Care Reform: Lessons from Massachusetts." *Archives of Internal Medicine* 171:1379–84.
- Lambright, K. T., and S. W. Allard. 2004. "Making Tradeoffs in Federal Block Grant Programs: Understanding the Interplay between SSBG and TANF." *Publius—the Journal of Federalism* 34:131–54.
- Leff, Mark H. 1973. "Consensus for Reform: The Mothers'-Pension Movement in the Progressive Era." Social Service Review 47:397-417.
- Lipsky, Michael. 1980. Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Luksetich, William. 2008. "Government Funding and Nonprofit Organizations." Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly 37:434–42.
- Lynn, Laurence. 2002. "Social Services and the State: The Public Appropriation of Private Charity." Social Service Review 76:58–82.
- Marwell, Nicole P. 2004. "Privatizing the Welfare State: Nonprofit Community Based Organizations as Political Actors." *American Sociological Review* 69:265–91.
- ———. 2007. Bargaining for Brooklyn: Community Organizations in the Entrepreneurial City. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Miles, Matthew B., and A. Michael Huberman. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Milward, H. Brinton, and Keith Provan. 2000. "Governing the Hollow State." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 10:359–79.
- Mitchell, Janet B. 1991. "Physician Participation in Medicaid Revisited." *Medical Care* 29: 645–53.
- Morgan, Kimberly J., and Andrea Louise Campbell. 2011. The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of Social Policy. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mosley, Jennifer E. 2012. "Keeping the Lights On: How Government Funding Concerns Drive the Advocacy Agendas of Nonprofit Homeless Service Providers." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 22:841–66.
- National Center for Charitable Statistics. 2013. "National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities." http://nccs.urban.org/classification/NTEE.cfm (accessed February 7).
- New York Times. 2011. "End the Slush Fund." Editorial. August 29.
- Nichols, Austin. 2010. "Regression for Nonnegative Skewed Dependent Variables." Paper presented at the BOS10 Stata Conference, Boston, July 15.

- O'Regan, Kathy, and Sharon Oster. 2002. "Does Government Funding Alter Nonprofit Governance? Evidence from New York City Nonprofit Contractors." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 21:359–79.
- Patterson, James T. 1994. America's Struggle Against Poverty, 1900–1994. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Provan, Keith G., and H. B. Milward. 1994. "Integration of Community-Based Services for the Severely Mentally Ill and the Structure of Public Funding: A Comparison of Four Systems." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 19:865–94.
- Reckhow, Sarah, and Margaret Weir. 2012. "Building a Resilient Social Safety Net." 275–324 in *Urban and Regional Policy and Its Effects*, edited by M. Weir, N. Pindus, H. Wial, and H. Wolman. Vol. 4. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Rodriguez, Rudolph A., Saunak Sen, Kala Mehta, Sandra Moody-Ayers, Peter Bacchetti, and Ann M. O'Hare. 2007. "Geography Matters: Relationships among Urban Residential Segregation, Dialysis Facilities, and Patient Outcomes." *Annals of Internal Medicine* 146: 493–501.
- Rosenthal, Marguerite G. 2000. "Public or Private Children's Services? Privatization in Retrospect." *Social Service Review* 74:281–305.
- Salamon, Lester M. 1987. "Of Market Failure, Voluntary Failure, and Third-Party Government: Toward a Theory of Government-Nonprofit Relations in the Modern Welfare State." *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* 16:29–49.
- Savas, E. S. 2002. "Competition and Choice in New York City Social Services." *Public Administration Review* 62:82–91.
- Smith, Steven Rathgeb, and Michael Lipsky. 1993. *Nonprofits for Hire: The Welfare State in the Age of Contracting.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Soss, Joe, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford F. Schram. 2011. Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Twombly, E. C. 2001. "Human Service Nonprofits in Metropolitan Areas during Devolution and Welfare Reform." Charting Civil Society series, no 10. Urban Institute, Washington, DC.
- Twombly, Eric C., and Jennifer Claire Auer. 2004. "Spatial Connections: Examining the Location of Children and the Nonprofits That Serve Them in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area." Report. Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.
- US Department of Health and Human Services. 2012. "Budget in Brief." Report. Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, DC.
- US General Accounting Office. 2002. "Welfare Reform: Former TANF Recipients with Impairments Less Likely to Be Employed and More Likely to Receive Federal Supports." Report. General Accounting Office, Washington, DC.
- Venkatesh, Sudhir Alladi, and Isil Celimli. 2004. "Tearing Down the Community." Shelter-force Online, no. 138, http://www.nhi.org/online/issues/138/chicago.html.
- Wamhoff, Steve, and Michael Wiseman. 2005–6. "The TANF/SSI Connection." Social Security Bulletin 66:1–17.

- Watkins-Hayes, Celeste. 2009. The New Welfare Bureaucrats: Entanglements of Race, Class, and Policy Reform. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Winston, Pamela. 2002. Welfare Policymaking in the States: The Devil in Devolution. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Wolpert, Julian. 1993. "Decentralization and Equity in Public and Nonprofit Sectors." Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly 22:281–96.
- Woolridge, Jeffrey M. 1997. "Quasi-Likelihood Methods for Count Data." 352–406 in *Handbook of Applied Econometrics*, edited by H. Pesaran and P. Schmidt. Vol. 2. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Yang, Serena, Robert L. Zarr, Taha A. Kass-Hout, Atoosa Kourosh, and Nancy R. Kelly. 2006. "Transportation Barriers to Accessing Health Care for Urban Children." *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved* 17:928–43.
- Zedlewski, Sheila R., and Donald W. Alderson. 2001. "Before and After Reform: How Have Families on Welfare Changed?" Series paper. Urban Institute, Washington, DC.

Changes in Meal Participation, Attendance, and Test Scòres Associated with the Availability of Universal Free School Breakfasts

DAVID C. RIBAR AND LAUREN A. HALDEMAN University of North Carolina at Greensboro

ABSTRACT This study investigates student outcomes associated with changes in the availability of universal free breakfasts at elementary schools in the Guilford County Schools (GCS) in North Carolina. In 2007–8, the GCS offered universal free breakfasts in schools with high proportions of economically disadvantaged students. In 2008–9, the GCS reduced its universal free programs, with the affected schools returning to eligibility-based programs. We examine how breakfast and lunch participation, attendance, and reading, math, and science test scores changed across years at affected and unaffected schools. We find that the switch from a universal free to an eligibility-based School Breakfast Program reduced breakfast participation substantially with the largest changes occurring among students who were not eligible for free or reduced-price meals. The changes to eligibility-based provision were associated with decreases in lunch participation for paid-eligible students but not for other students. The changes to eligibility-based provision did not harm test scores or attendance.

INTRODUCTION

The School Breakfast Program (SBP) is intended to provide children with healthy meals to help their school performance and nutritional well-being. The program offers free and reduced-price breakfasts to children from low-income households and subsidizes breakfasts for other children. The federal government provides cash subsidies and in-kind support for the program, and school systems (school food authorities, or SFAs) operate and administer the programs, often contributing funding of their own. In fiscal year 2009, the SBP served more than 11 million children at a federal cost of \$2.6 billion (US Economic Research Service 2010).

Social Service Review (June 2013). © 2013 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved. 0037-7961/2013/8702-0006\$10.00

The eligibility guidelines for the SBP are the same as the National School Lunch Program (NSLP). Children are categorically eligible for free meals if they live in a household that receives benefits from the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program or the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program. They are also eligible for free meals if they live in a household with an income below 130 percent of the federal poverty guidelines and eligible for reduced-price meals if they live in a household with an income between 130 and 185 percent of the guidelines.

Although the SBP and NSLP share the same eligibility criteria, participation in the breakfast program has been substantially lower than participation in the lunch program. The differences in participation arise from lower participation by schools in the SBP but also from lower participation by students at schools that offer breakfasts. To encourage SBP participation, some schools and SFAs have offered universal free school breakfasts, serving free breakfasts to all children at a school regardless of eligibility. Schools can do this with federal funding under special provisions of the National School Lunch Act (US Food and Nutrition Service 2001) or with state or local funding. Some of these schools, however, are finding that they can no longer afford universal free programs. Susan Bartlett, Frederic Glantz, and Christopher Logan (2008) report that the full cost of providing a breakfast at an average SFA in 2005-6 exceeded the most generous federal reimbursement rate by nearly a dollar. Rising food prices in subsequent years and deteriorating budget conditions during the Great Recession also led schools to revisit their universal free breakfast policies.

In this study, we investigate student outcomes associated with changes in the availability of universal free breakfasts at elementary schools in the Guilford County Schools (GCS) in North Carolina. In 2007–8, the GCS offered universal free breakfasts in 26 schools with high proportions of economically disadvantaged students. In the following year, budgetary pressures and a reinterpretation of state policy led the GCS to change to eligibility-based SBPs at three elementary schools, while adding a universal free SBP at one other elementary school.

We examine several types of student outcomes with data drawn from different administrative sources: counts of breakfasts and lunches served by each school from the GCS, attendance rates for each school grade from the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction (NCDPI), and standardized test score and additional attendance information for individual students from the North Carolina Education Research Data Center (NCERDC).

These outcomes relate to the food consumption and school performance objectives of the SBP. As Lawrence Bernstein and colleagues (2004) show, they are also conceptually linked.

In particular, we expect the change from universal free to eligibility-based provision to discourage SBP participation in two ways. First, the imposition of a fee creates an economic disincentive among children who would not otherwise qualify for free meals. Second, the change may further discourage participation, including participation among free-eligible students, by increasing the stigma and reducing the peer acceptance of school breakfasts. Frederic Glantz and colleagues (1994), among other researchers, report that stigma is a significant barrier to SBP participation.

By lowering breakfast participation, the return to eligibility-based provision may affect other outcomes. For example, increased stigma or lower peer valuations may extend to school meals generally, leading to a decrease in NSLP participation. Alternatively, reductions in breakfast consumption may make school lunches more attractive (or necessary). Participation in the SBP might also affect attendance. Because the meals are served at school, the SBP confers an extra benefit on attendance. The incentive may be weak, however, because it comes on top of compulsory schooling requirements and the value of school itself. Also, it is possible that SBP participation could adversely affect attendance if, for instance, cafeteria settings increase the transmission of contagious illnesses (Cauchemez et al. 2011).

Changes in school meal consumption could also affect cognitive outcomes. In principle, SBP participation should lead to fewer skipped meals and increase the quality of children's breakfasts. These changes could lead to short-term metabolic improvements or longer-term health gains that might, in turn, contribute to better cognitive outcomes and academic success. The first link in this chain, however, is key: to improve cognitive performance, SBP participation must increase the consumption and quality of breakfasts and not merely replace meals the children would have received from home. Because levels of breakfast consumption are moderately high, there is very limited scope for change and thus for cognitive impacts.¹

1. The US Agricultural Research Service (2010) estimates that about one in nine elementary-school-aged children skipped breakfast on any given day in 2007–8. This rate rose to one in six for children who were living in households with incomes between 130 and 185 percent of the poverty line. An analysis of the SBP Pilot Project (Bernstein et al. 2004) fails to find statistically significant differences in most types of dietary components between

Our study adds to a large research literature on universal free school breakfast provision. As we discuss below, the studies in this area generally find that universal free provision increases breakfast participation. However, estimates of effects on attendance, test scores, and other outcomes are equivocal, leaving room for additional research. Our empirical methodology has several strong elements. First, it relies on a quasiexperimental source of program variation, at least from the perspective of the students, reducing the chances that our statistical results are confounded by student and household characteristics that are associated with meal participation and the outcomes of interest. Second, we analyze administrative data, which are not subject to recall errors, strategic or socially motivated misreporting, or selective cooperation. Third, most of the data are available longitudinally, allowing us to compare outcomes before and after the change in SBPs at affected and unaffected schools; that is, we are able to conduct difference-in-difference analyses. We increase the comparability of the schools by matching the affected schools with unaffected schools that had similar programmatic and demographic characteristics and that were located in nearby neighborhoods.

Our data have some other unique features. First, they include a contraction of services from universal free to eligibility-based provision, while previous research on universal free SBPs mainly examines expansions. Participation changes may differ in expanding and contracting environments if, for instance, parents and students are slow to discover the availability of a new universal free SBP but immediately confront the consequences of a change to an eligibility-based program. Second, our data are very recent. Our study joins just a few others (Bernstein et al. 2004; Peterson et al. 2004; Leos-Urbel et al. 2011) in examining student outcomes under the higher nutritional standards set by the US Department of Agriculture in 1995 under its School Meals Initiative.

SCHOOL BREAKFASTS IN THE GUILFORD COUNTY SCHOOLS

The GCS in North Carolina is a moderately large school system, with 119 schools and more than 70,000 students. The GCS covers all of Guilford County (population 450,000), including the cities of Greensboro (pop-

students who attended schools that operated eligibility-based or universal free SBPs in non-classroom settings.

ulation 237,000) and High Point (population 98,000).² The system's student population is ethnically diverse: 42 percent of the students are white, 41 percent are black, 8 percent are Hispanic, 5 percent are Asian, and the rest are composed of other groups. Just under half of the students in the GCS are eligible for free or reduced-price meals.

The GCS operates breakfast programs throughout the system. Most GCS elementary schools operate eligibility-based SBPs. In 2007–8 and 2008–9, breakfasts at those schools were offered for free, for 30¢ if the student qualified for reduced-price meals, or for 90¢ if the student did not qualify for free or reduced-price meals. Breakfasts included choices of milk, juice, and cereal in addition to a fruit serving and a breakfast entrée.

North Carolina allows school districts to operate universal free SBPs at individual schools if those schools can do so without a loss (that is, if they can cover the costs with the federal subsidies).³ In academic year 2007–8, the GCS used this flexibility to operate universal free breakfast programs in 26 Title I schools in which at least 70 percent of the students were expected to qualify for free or reduced-price meals.⁴

Early in 2008, GCS officials became concerned that the conditions that were necessary to operate universal free SBPs might not be met because of rising food prices and increasing breakfast participation. That summer, the GCS altered its formula for selecting schools that would offer universal free programs.⁵ These changes resulted in the GCS switching to eligibility-based programs at three elementary schools and one middle school that initially offered universal free programs. The GCS also began offering universal free breakfast at one elementary school that initially

- 2. Guilford County has had a unified, county-wide school district since 1993. Before consolidation, separate school districts covered Greensboro, High Point, and the balance of Guilford County.
- 3. North Carolina also subsidizes universal free breakfasts for kindergarten students at selected schools. All of the GCS elementary schools with "general" universal free SBPs participate in the universal free kindergarten program.
- 4. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provides supplemental federal funding to schools with high numbers or proportions of economically disadvantaged students.
- 5. In 2007–8, the GCS used revenues (federal subsidies) from free and reduced-price meals to calculate whether schools would break even in providing universal free meals; in 2008–9, the GCS only used revenues from free meals. The GCS also slightly altered its projection of participation growth associated with offering universal free programs to assume 15 percent growth.

had an eligibility-based program. Because the sole source of these changes was the modification of the selection formula (no schools would have switched under the old formula), the changes constitute a natural experiment.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Breakfast is often called the most important meal of the day, a reputation that stems partly from a substantial body of research that links breakfast consumption to positive outcomes for children. Gail Rampersaud and colleagues (2005) recently conducted a systematic review of scientific studies of the effect of breakfast consumption on nutritional status, weight, cognitive performance, and academic outcomes. Alexa Hoyland, Louise Dye, and Clare Lawton (2009) conducted a similar review of cognitive studies. The evidence is far from uniform but, on balance, indicates that breakfast consumption is associated with better nutritional outcomes for children and a lower incidence of being overweight or obese. Evidence regarding cognitive outcomes is more equivocal. Several studies find a relationship between breakfast consumption and performance in short-term memory tasks but are less clear regarding whether breakfast improves longer-term academic performance. To the extent that relationships exist, they tend to be strongest in children who are at the highest nutritional risk. There is scant direct evidence that marginally improving breakfast quality (e.g., changing a few breakfast items) has noticeable effects on cognitive outcomes.

David Connell and Mary Fox (2004) summarize numerous evaluations of the SBP that had been conducted through 2004, including several evaluations of universal free programs. There is consistent evidence that universal free programs increase school breakfast participation. Beyond that, the findings across studies diverge. Several studies have found that universal free SBPs are associated with better nutritional outcomes, improved short-term cognitive performance, greater attendance, and higher academic achievement. For example, J. Michael Murphy and colleagues (1998) and Ronald Kleinman and colleagues (2002) examine the implementation of universal free SBPs at three schools using pre- and postcomparisons and find a near doubling of breakfast participation rates and evidence that participation is associated with lower absenteeism and higher math grades.

Some other recent studies with stronger research designs also report positive educational and behavioral outcomes. Michèle Belot and Jonathan James (2011) evaluate a campaign to improve the quality of school meals in the United Kingdom and find that the campaign improved attendance and test scores. Christelle Roustit and colleagues (2010) investigate how the availability of school meal programs in Canada affects scholastic performance. They report that these programs eliminate scholastic gaps between children living in food insecure and food secure households.

Other recent studies fail to detect associations for schooling outcomes. The most notable is the SBP Pilot Project (Bernstein et al. 2004), a largescale, random-assignment evaluation of universal free programs in six school districts. Results from this experiment indicate that offering free breakfasts boosts participation but does not lead to a consistent pattern of improvements in nutrition, attendance, or cognitive outcomes. Kristin Peterson et al. (2004) examine the implementation of universal free programs in Minnesota schools. Consistent with other research, they find sizable gains in SBP participation. However, they find only weak evidence of test score impacts and some evidence of increased absenteeism. Simon Murphy and colleagues (2011) investigate the effects of universal free programs on breakfast consumption, meal attitudes, episodic memory, and class behavior in a random-assignment trial in Wales. They find that the programs improved diets and meal attitudes but had no other effects on student outcomes. Jacob Leos-Urbel and colleagues (2011) examine the implementation of universal free SBPs in New York City and find only weak evidence that they improved test scores.

Another study points to the difficulties in trying to draw causal inferences from the associations between school meal operations and student outcomes. David Figlio and Joshua Winicki (2005) examine menus for schools in Virginia during weeks when students were and were not taking high-stakes tests. They find that the menus differed systematically, suggesting that schools manipulated the calorie and nutritional content of meals in an attempt to improve test performance.

The methodologies of the different studies vary. Our investigation shares several key features with some of the most recent studies. In particular, we examine student outcomes associated with a quasi-experimental change in school breakfast provision. We use a pre- and postchange design but also compare outcomes across schools that did and did not change their SBPs. A distinctive feature of our study is that it examines changes from universal free to eligibility-based programs; previous evaluations consider changes in the other direction.

DATA

To examine how school meal participation, school attendance, and test score performance vary with the availability of universal free breakfast programs, we relied on a number of different data sources, including administrative records from the GCS School Nutrition Services office, publicly available information from the NCDPI, and confidential information from the NCERDC. The measures from each source are summarized in the appendix.

MEAL PARTICIPATION

The GCS provides data on monthly counts of the breakfasts and lunches each school served to students who were eligible for different types of subsidies. The raw counts are difficult to compare, as they vary with characteristics such as the total enrollment, the composition of reduced-price and free-eligible students, and the number of days on which particular types of meals were served. To address these issues, we express the meal figures in terms of participation rates, where

$$participation = \frac{\text{meals served in the period}}{\text{students in daily membership} \times \text{school days in period}}.$$
(1)

For example, to calculate a school's breakfast participation rate among free-eligible students in a given month, we divide the number of breakfasts served to free-eligible students during that month by the product of the number of free-eligible students in daily membership and the number of days that month that breakfasts were served. The participation rate gives the approximate average daily proportion of students of a given eligibility group taking a particular type of meal over the specified period. We calculate participation rates for all breakfasts and all lunches and participation rates for each type of meal by eligibility status (free breakfasts, free lunches, reduced-price breakfasts, etc.).

ATTENDANCE

We examine student attendance data from two sources. First, the Principal's Monthly Report (PMR) on attendance, available from the NCDPI,

provides monthly counts of students in membership and in attendance by grade at each school. We form measures of monthly grade-specific attendance rates at the schools by dividing the number of students in attendance by the number of students in membership. For reasons of comparability with our other data sources and because the changes in SBPs were focused on children in the first grade and higher, we only analyze attendance outcomes for children in the first through fifth grades and omit children in kindergarten.

Because the grade-level attendance measures are aggregate figures, they cannot be linked to characteristics of particular students. This issue leads us to also examine student-level attendance from the NCERDC, a repository that houses confidential data from the NCDPI on test scores, attendance, and other characteristics. The NCERDC assigns internal identifiers that allow these data to be linked to schools and linked to individuals over time. We use attendance data from the spring test score files. These data indicate the number of days that the student was a member of a school as of that school's test date and the number of days on which the student was absent over the same period. A personal attendance rate is calculated as one minus the ratio of absences to membership days. The principal advantage of the NCERDC data is that they can be linked to other observable characteristics of the student and can be linked longitudinally (i.e., support before and after comparisons for the same student). The drawbacks of these data are that they capture attendance over most but not all of the year (i.e., through the testing date) and lack some covariates for first- and secondgrade students who do not take the standardized tests.

TEST SCORES

North Carolina has been using annual accountability tests to measure school performance for more than a decade. Elementary students in the state take the following end-of-grade (EOG) tests in the last 3 weeks of school: reading comprehension tests administered in the third, fourth, and fifth grades; mathematics tests administered in the third, fourth, and fifth grades; and a science test administered in the fifth grade. Results from these tests are

^{6.} The PMR data are reported on the basis of "school months" rather than calendar months. The school months correspond to each set of 20 days that the school is open. See http://www.ncpublicschools.org/fbs/accounting/data/.

used to determine levels of proficiency and schools' progress toward No Child Left Behind goals. Through an agreement with the NCERDC, we obtained access to student-level data for GCS elementary students in 2007–8 and 2008–9.

About five-sixths of students take the general version of the reading and math tests. However, some students who require special testing accommodations take alternative versions of the tests. For each type of test, students' scores are mapped into one of four achievement levels, with level 3 representing performance that is deemed proficient, or consistent with grade-level expectations (see NCDPI [2011] for more information about the tests). For all students who took the tests, we form binary indicators that equal one if the scores were proficient or better.

The binary proficiency measure only captures performance at one point along the score distribution and may miss changes in scores below or above this margin. To address this issue, we also examine continuous, grade-standardized scores of the general versions of the reading and math tests and raw scores from the general version of the science tests. As mentioned, the students who took the general versions of the EOG tests are a selective (more abled) group than the overall population of students. In the end, the findings are similar whether we use the binary or continuous test performance measures.

Our multivariate analyses of test scores use the student-level data. However, to avoid the inadvertent disclosure of confidential results, the descriptive analyses use publicly available information from the NCDPI report card database. In particular, the NCDPI releases the percentages of students in each relevant grade at each school whose test scores indicate that they are proficient in math, reading, and science.

EXPLANATORY MEASURES

Our multivariate analyses draw on several explanatory measures from the NCDPI and NCERDC. From the NCDPI, we obtained school-level measures of the proportions of students who were black, Hispanic, female, free-meal eligible, and reduced-price eligible. From the NCERDC, we use person-level controls for the students' race and ethnicity (black, Hispanic,

^{7.} The science general test raw score had a possible range of 120–180. Statewide, the mean was just over 150, and the standard deviation was 9.5.

and other nonwhite, non-Hispanic ethnicity), gender, meal subsidization status, limited English proficiency, math or reading giftedness, and disability status.

SELECTION OF SCHOOLS

Four Title I elementary schools in the GCS underwent changes in their SBPs in 2008–9: three switched from universal free to eligibility-based programs, and one switched from an eligibility-based program to universal free. The schools were not randomly chosen and were not representative of all schools in the GCS. For our analyses, we wanted to compare outcomes at the four "change" schools to outcomes at other "nonchange" schools that matched closely in terms of their observed characteristics.

We began by considering elementary schools in the GCS that received Title I funding. Of the 65 elementary schools in the GCS in 2007–8 and 2008–9, 30 received Title I funding. We next considered school calendars and programs. Each of our change schools operated on traditional 180-day calendars, enrolled students on a regular rather than a magnet basis, and was accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). We also wanted all of our comparison schools to be located in the cities of Greensboro or High Point, where the four change schools were located, rather than rural parts of Guilford County.

After applying all of these criteria, we were left with 18 potential comparison schools: 14 schools that had universal free programs in both years and four that had eligibility-based programs for both years. Within these sets, we looked for comparison schools that were similar in size, racial and ethnic makeup, and economic disadvantage to our change schools in 2007–8. Size was important because we wanted to examine schools with similar scales of meal operations. Race, ethnicity, and economic disadvantage are likely to be directly associated with student outcomes but also have policy significance, such as No Child Left Behind targets. Economic disadvantage also entered into the school system's selection of schools that would change their SBP status. In particular, the change schools were more economically disadvantaged than GCS elementary schools as a whole but less disadvantaged than the schools that continued to offer universal free SBPs.

Ultimately, there were six comparison schools that closely matched the size, demographic, and economic characteristics of our change schools. These include five schools that maintained universal free SBPs and one that maintained an eligibility-based program. Most of our empirical anal-

yses focus on data from the four change and six matched-comparison schools. However, we also replicated all of our analyses using the broader set of 22 traditional-calendar, nonmagnet, SACS-accredited, Title I elementary schools. None of our findings are sensitive to the choice of comparison set (results are available on request).

Characteristics of the schools in our study, conditional on the type of breakfast programs they operated, are reported in table 1. The top half of the table lists averages of the school size (average daily membership) and percentages of students who are black, Hispanic, female, free-meal eligible, and reduced-price eligible for 2007–8. The bottom half of the table lists the same statistics for 2008–9. Column 1 shows characteristics of the three schools that switched from universal free to eligibility-based SBPs. Column 2 shows characteristics of the 14 study schools that maintained universal free programs, while column 3 lists characteristics of the narrower set of matched-comparison schools that maintained universal free programs. Columns 4–6 list characteristics for the four study schools that maintained eligibility-based programs, the comparison school that main-

TABLE 1. Characteristics of Students at Analysis Schools

	Universal	Free SI	BP 2007-8	Eligil	bility-Based SB	P 2007-8
	Eligibility- Based SBP		rsal Free SBP 2008–9		bility-Based P 2008–9	Universal Free SBP
	2008-9	All (2)	Comparison (3)	All (4)	Comparison (5)	2008-9
2007–8 characteristics:						
Students (average daily						
membership)	485	391	454	452	605	533
% students black	68.4	68.5	66.4	61.0	51.2	46.5
% students Hispanic	13.3	17.4	15.7	14.1	12.4	24.0
% students female	48.7	48.8	47.8	48.7	49.8	48.6
% students free eligible	66.1	81.8	79.3	58.4	55.8	74.2
% students reduced-price						
eligible .	14.3	9.7	9.6	14.8	12.7	7.5
2008–9 characteristics:						
Students (average daily						
membership)	491	401	462	427	522	505
% students black	68.6	67.2	63.8	61.7	48.7	49.5
% students Hispanic	14.8	18.5	17.1	15.5	14.0	22.8
% students female	50.0	49.3	49.1	48.7	47.3	47.9
% students free eligible	65.2	81.5	80.9	56.3	56.3	72.1
% students reduced-price						
eligible	13.6	7.2	7.7	12.8	11.7	7.0
Schools	3	14	5	4	1	1

Note.—Authors' calculations from North Carolina Department of Public Instruction attendance and school report card data and from Guilford County Schools meal participation data. SBP = School Breakfast Program.

tained an eligibility-based program, and the change school that switched to a universal free program.

The study schools with universal free breakfast programs in 2007–8 had higher proportions of minority and economically disadvantaged students than the schools with eligibility-based breakfast programs. If we consider just the schools that initially had universal free breakfast programs, we see that the change schools tended to be larger but also tended to have lower percentages of economically disadvantaged students than the nonchange schools. The smaller set of universal free comparison schools matches the change schools in terms of class size but is only marginally more comparable in terms of economic disadvantage. Among the schools that initially had eligibility-based programs, the comparison school is much closer to the change school in terms of racial composition and 2008–9 enrollment than the other schools.

In addition to these comparisons of measured characteristics, we also observed cafeteria operations at the change and matched-comparison schools and conducted focus-group interviews at several of the schools (Haldeman, Himmelrich, and Ribar 2011). The meal observations indicate that the schools operated comparable breakfast and lunch programs, giving the children similar amounts of time to eat, offering similar menus, and using similar line procedures. All of the schools operated before-school breakfast programs, and all but one served breakfasts in the cafeteria (one school served some breakfasts in the cafeteria and some in classrooms). The comparability of meal operations is important because previous research indicates that the method of SBP delivery can make a substantial difference in participation rates (Rainville and Carr 2008). The focus group discussions reveal that parents at the schools were knowledgeable about the meal programs, that they held similar attitudes regarding the value of breakfasts, that many experienced food hardships, and that they saw the school meal programs as helping to address household food needs. The principal difference between schools is that parents from the school that gained a universal free SBP spoke more positively about the school meals, while parents from schools that moved to an eligibility-based program spoke more negatively.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF STUDENT OUTCOMES

Table 2 lists 2007–8 and 2008–9 averages of meal participation rates, attendance rates, and test score results for schools that changed from uni-

Meal Participation, Attendance, and Test Proficiency Rates at GCS Change and Comparison Schools TABLE 2.

		Univ	rersal Free	Universal Free SBP 2007-8	8			Eligii	Eligibility-Based SBP 2007-8	3 SBP 200	7-8	
	Eligibili	Eligibility-Based 2008–9	6-800	Univer	Universal Free 2008-9	6-80	Eligibilit	Eligibility-Based 2008–9	6-800	Univer	Universal Free 2008-9	6-80
	2007–8	2007–8 2008–9 (1) (2)	Change (3)	2007-8	2008–9	Change (6)	2007–8 (7)	2008–9	Change (9)	2007-8 (10)	2008-9	Change (12)
Meal participation: Total SRP	54.1	45.0	101	58.7	0.69	83	29.8	30.5	7.	43.6	59.8	16.2
Free-eligible SBP	56.7	49.8	-6.9	6.09	60.4	1.5	38.1	37.5	9. –	50.5	63.6	13.1
Reduced-price-eligible SBP	51.1	43.8	-7.3	49.1	60.3	11.2	26.3	29.7	3.4	39.4	62.2	22.8
Paid-eligible SBP	48.2	31.2	-17.0	55.4	79.5	24.1	16.6	18.6	2.0	17.4	45.7	28.3
Total lunch	85.3	85.3	0.	87.3	87.9	9.	81.8	80.0	-1.8	84.6	83.7	ر ا
Free-eligible lunch	88.4	0.68	9	88.5	85.8	-2.7	88.9	82.8	-6.1	89.4	86.9	-2.5
Reduced-price-eligible lunch	81.9	84.1	2.2	82.2	89.7	7.5	9.92	83.5	6.9	0.06	91.9	0.1
Paid-eligible lunch	77.4	74.7	-2.7	86.1	106.5	20.4	71.5	73.7	2.2	63.1	70.1	7.0
Attendance:												
From grade-level data	0.96	96.5	ιċ	95.2	95.0	7.7	95.7	92.6	<u>.</u>	94.9	95.4	rύ
From student-level data	0.96	97.0	1.0	95.4	95.3	<u>-</u>	95.9	95.8	<u>-</u>	95.1	95.5	4.
Test scores:											i	•
Grades 3-5 math proficiency	57.9	72.7	14.8	56.2	69.5	13.3	65.1	74.4	ه .ي	64.1	78.1	14.0
Grades 3-5 reading proficiency	38.3	52.1	13.8	31.6	47.8	16.2	48.3	56.8	8.5	41.7	52.0	10.3
Grade 5 science proficiency	25.7	35.1	9.4	24.5	40.9	16.4	24.5	34.4	<u>ත</u> .	36.2	56.0	19.8
Schools		co			2			_				

Education Research Data Center annual student-level data (numbers of observations vary). Calculations of test proficiency rates are from North Carolina Department of Public Calculations of attendance rates are from North Carolina Department of Public Instruction monthly grade-level data (45 observations per school per year) and North Carolina instruction annual grade-level report card data (three observations per school per year for reading and math, one observation per school per year for science). SBP = School Note.—Author's calculations of meal participation rates are from monthly school-level Guilford County Schools (GCS) meals data (nine observations per school per year) Breakfast Program versal free to eligibility-based SBPs (cols. 1-3), the matched-comparison schools with universal free programs (cols. 4–6), the matched-comparison school with an eligibility-based program (cols. 7-9), and the school that changed from eligibility-based to universal free provision (cols. 10-12). The schools that offered universal free breakfasts had moderately high SBP participation rates, with total (all-student) participation rates ranging from 54 to 62 percent. SBP participation rates for the eligibility-based programs were much lower. The three schools that switched from universal free to eligibility-based provision experienced a 9 percent average decline in their all-student SBP participation rates. In contrast, SBP participation grew slightly at the matched-comparison schools that continued to offer universal free breakfasts. All-student SBP participation at the school that changed from eligibility-based to universal free provision grew 16 percent, while participation at the matched comparison school with an eligibility-based SBP was virtually unchanged. The comparison of trends indicates that universal free provision was associated with higher SBP participation.

When we consider the eligibility groups, SBP participation was highest among free-eligible students and lowest among paid-eligible students. Participation for each group fell faster at the schools that lost universal free programs, and grew faster at the schools that added them, than at the schools that did not change programs. The changes in participation are largest for the reduced-price and paid-eligible students but were also substantial at 7–13 percent for the free-eligible students.

Lunch participation is higher than breakfast participation in all schools and varied only modestly across the different types of schools. Participation is highest at the schools that maintained universal free breakfast programs and lowest at the school that maintained an eligibility-based program. Much of the difference in levels of lunch participation can be traced to differences in the composition of eligibility groups across schools. Lunch participation rates were very similar within eligibility groups at the different schools. The figures also point to a data issue: estimated paid-eligible lunch participation exceeded 100 percent in 2008–9 at the matched-comparison schools that maintained universal free SBPs. This problem appears to be an artifact of the small numbers of paid-eligible students at some matched-comparison schools and of the distribution of eligible students only being measured at one point during the school year.⁸

^{8.} The numbers of free- and reduced-price-eligible students appear to be counts of students who ever had this status during the year. If a student became free or reduced-price eligible

Lunch participation fell among free-eligible students, except at the schools that changed from universal free to eligibility-based SBPs. Lunch participation generally increased among reduced-price and paid-eligible students, except for paid-eligible students at schools that changed from universal free to eligibility-based SBPs.⁹

Attendance increased at the three schools that switched from universal free to eligibility-based provision of breakfasts. However, attendance also increased at the school that switched from eligibility-based to universal free provision. In contrast, attendance fell slightly at the schools that did not experience changes in their breakfast programs.¹⁰

The last three rows in table 2 show that the percentages of students whose scores on their EOG math, reading, and science tests met the state's proficiency levels increased across all the schools. However, there are no consistent patterns in the differences in growth rates across different types of schools. For example, math proficiency increased more at the elementary schools that switched from universal free SBPs to eligibility-based SBPs than at the matched-comparison schools that maintained universal free SBPs, but reading and science proficiency showed the opposite patterns.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES OF STUDENT OUTCOMES

We estimate multivariate, difference-in-difference regression models for our various student outcomes. For our analyses of aggregate outcomes, let $A_{g,s,y,m}$ represent an aggregate outcome (meal participation or attendance) for student group g at school s in month m of year y. We assume that the outcome depends on whether universal free or eligibility-based school breakfasts were offered; let $U_{s,y}$ be a binary variable that indicates the avail-

during the year, she could have received some paid meals but would not appear as a paid-eligible student.

^{9.} In a longer report (Ribar and Haldeman 2011), we also considered how meal participation changed on a month-by-month basis. SBP participation in the opening month of 2008–9 increased at all of the schools. The absence of differences across schools likely reflects the GCS accommodating students whose meal eligibility was being determined. At the schools that switched their SBPs, the changes in participation became evident by October and continued through the rest of the year. There were few changes in lunch participation rates across the schools.

^{10.} We also examine the attendance on a month-by-month basis (Ribar and Haldeman 2011). Those analyses indicate that the increases in attendance at the change schools were largest around January and February.

ability of universal free breakfasts at school s in year y. We also assume that the outcome depends on other measured characteristics of the student group, $X_{g,s,y}$; unmeasured month- and year-specific characteristics (seasonality and time fixed effects), κ_m and τ_y ; unmeasured time-invariant characteristics of the school (school group fixed effects), η_s ; and other unmeasured time-varying and individual-/group-specific characteristics, $\varepsilon_{g,s,y,m}$. We estimate models of the form

$$A_{g,s,y,m} = \alpha U_{s,y} + \beta X_{g,s,y} + \kappa_m + \tau_y + \eta_s + \varepsilon_{g,s,y,m}, \tag{2}$$

where α and β are coefficients to be estimated.

For our analyses of individual student outcomes, we specify similar models. Let $Y_{i,s,y}$ represent an outcome (attendance or test performance) for student i at school s in year y. Let $Z_{i,s,y}$ be a set of observed student-specific characteristics, let ψ_y be a set of unmeasured period-specific characteristics, let μ_i be a set of unmeasured time-invariant characteristics of the student (student fixed effects), and let $\nu_{i,s,y}$ represent other unmeasured time-varying and student-specific characteristics. For the student-specific outcomes, we estimate models of the form

$$Y_{i,s,y} = \delta U_{s,t} + \gamma Z_{i,s,y} + \psi_{y} + \mu_{i} + \nu_{i,s,y}. \tag{3}$$

We operationalize specifications (2) and (3) as two-way fixed-effects models.

The principal advantage of the fixed-effects models is that they control for unobserved time- and either school- or individual-specific characteristics that might be associated with both student outcomes and the school breakfast policy. The time fixed effects account for things like system-wide curricular initiatives and general economic and social conditions. The school fixed effects account for the general conditions of the schools, such as the physical facilities, the characteristics of the teachers, and the general administration of the schools, while the student fixed effects account for students' abilities and household attitudes.

MEAL PARTICIPATION

Table 3 reports coefficient estimates from the multivariate models of the associations between universal free breakfast provision and the monthly school-level meal participation outcomes. The top rows in table 3 list es-

TABLE 3. Monthly Meal Participation Regression Results for Guilford County Change and Comparison Schools

		SBP Par	ticipation			Lunch Pa	rticipatio	n
	Total	Free Eligible	RP Eligible	Paid Eligible	Total	Free Eligible	RP eligible	Paid Eligible
Models estimated with school, month, and year controls:							•	
Universal free SBP	.124**	.088 (.049)	.158* (.080)	.276*** (.092)	003 (.015)	024 (.016)	.016 (.038)	.100
2008–9	.031* (.016)	.007 (.018)	.092***	.155***	001	025**	.057**	.123*
R^2	.874	.838	.769	.800	(.010)	(.010)	(.025) .446	(.057)
Models estimated with school, month, year, and student demographic controls:					.511	.55+	2170	.551
Universal free SBP	.164**	.133**	.209**	.275**	.022	.001	007	.129*
	(.054)	(.046)	(.085)	(.101)	(.013)	(.015)	(.015)	(.063)
2008–9	005	026	.025	.135*	001	022	.047*	.126
R^2	(.033) .899	(.031) .868	(.050) .806	(.067) .816	(.016) .616	(.017) .383	(.021) .531	(.084) .595

Note.—Coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) estimated from ordinary least squares models with school and month fixed effects. Models estimated for four change and six comparison schools each contributing 18 monthly observations (180 observations total). Student demographic controls include percentages black, Hispanic, female, free-meal eligible, and reduced-price (RP) eligible. Standard errors account for clustering within schools. SBP = School Breakfast Program.

timates from models that only account for general school, month, and year fixed effects. These specifications are essentially summaries of the descriptive results from table 2. The principal distinction is that instead of reporting several difference-in-difference results, the model reports one, with the changes in participation that are associated with adding or removing a universal free program restricted to be symmetric. The estimates indicate that the universal free breakfast provision is associated with approximately a 12 percent increase in all-student breakfast participation. In the analyses of specific eligibility groups, the provision of universal free breakfasts is associated with a 9 percent increase in SBP participation among free-eligible children, a 16 percent increase in participation among reduced-price-eligible children, and a 28 percent increase in participation among paid-eligible children. The coefficients in the free-eligible model fall short of being statistically significant, but the coefficients in the reduced-price and paid-eligible models are distinguishable from zero.

^{*} Significant at 10%.

^{**} Significant at 5%.

^{***} Significant at 1%.

The bottom rows of table 3 list estimates from models that add controls for the race/ethnicity, gender, and eligibility composition of the students. As table 1 shows, these characteristics do not change much within our schools over the 2 years of the study. Including the measures modestly improves the fit of each model and leads to estimated associations between operating a universal free SBP and breakfast participation that are stronger than the models without observed controls. The coefficients for universal free provision for the all-student, free-eligible, and reduced-price-eligible breakfast participation outcomes are each about one-third larger when demographic and economic controls are added, while the coefficient for paideligible participation is unchanged. All of the coefficients remain statistically distinguishable from zero.

As with the descriptive analyses, universal free breakfast provision is not consistently associated with lunch participation. The coefficient in the all-student participation model is zero when controls are omitted but small and positive when controls are added. If we focus on the models with controls for students' demographic and economic characteristics, the provision of universal free breakfasts is associated with an increase in lunch participation among paid-eligible students but not among free- or reduced-price-eligible students. The positive association would be consistent with the idea that exposure to breakfasts may cause some paid-eligible students or their families to become more accepting of school meals generally.

ATTENDANCE

Results from multivariate analyses of the association between universal free breakfast provision and the monthly grade-level attendance rates are reported in table 4. As with the analyses of meal participation, the models of attendance outcomes include controls for school-, year-, and month-specific effects. Because the attendance figures are reported separately by grade, the models also include controls for grade-specific effects. The estimates listed in column 1 are from restricted models that include these controls only. The estimates listed in columns 2 and 3 are from models that add controls for the demographic and economic characteristics of the schools' students. The models in columns 2 and 3 have the same types of

^{11.} Despite the change in the fit statistic, the coefficients on the observed controls are individually insignificant. This is due to the limited longitudinal variation and high degree of multicollinearity in the measures when school fixed effects are also included.

TABLE 4. Monthly Grade-Level Attendance Regression Results for GCS Change and Comparison Schools

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Universal free SBP	002	002	003
	(.003)	(.002)	(.002)
2008–9	.001	.001	.002
	(.002)	(.001)	(.002)
School fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Month fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Grade fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Student characteristics set 1	No	Yes	No
Student characteristics set 2	No	No	Yes
R^2	.545	.557	.561

Note.—Coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) estimated from ordinary least squares models with school, month, and grade fixed effects. The models are estimated for four change and six comparison schools each contributing 18 monthly observations on five grades (900 observations total). Student demographic controls include percentages black, Hispanic, and female. Control set 1 also includes Guilford County Schools (GCS) supplied free-meal-eligible and reduced-price-eligible student percentages, while control set 2 includes North Carolina Department of Public Instruction supplied economically disadvantaged percentages. Standard errors account for clustering within schools. SBP = School Breakfast Program.

controls but use controls from different data sources. The model in column 2 uses the proportion of economically disadvantaged students that was reported by the GCS, while the model in column 3 uses the proportion reported by the NCDPI.

The coefficient estimate for universal free breakfast provision in the restricted model in table 4, column 1, indicates that such provision was associated with lower attendance, although the coefficient is imprecisely estimated and cannot be distinguished from zero. Similar results appear in the models that add demographic and economic controls.

Table 5 lists results from regression analyses of the student-level data from the NCERDC. An advantage of these data is that we can include student-level controls in the models. The top panel of table 5 reports results from models estimated using data on all first through fifth graders at the analysis schools. Column 1 lists results from a model that only includes school and grade controls. Column 2 lists results from a model that adds controls for students' demographic characteristics, while column 3 lists results from a model that includes student fixed effects. Results from all three specifications indicate that universal free breakfast provision is associated with a half percent decrease in attendance, equivalent to the loss of almost a full day over the school year. However, only the coefficients in column 3 are statistically distinguishable from zero.

TABLE 5. Student-Level Attendance Regression Results for Guilford County Change

and Comparison Schools

	(1)	(2)	(3)
All students in grades 1–5 ($N = 8,078$):			
Universal free SBP	005	·005	005***
Chiroteat Not 22.	(.004)	(.004)	(.001)
2008–9	.002	.002	.004***
2000 0	(.002)	(.002)	(.001)
School controls	Yes	Yes	No
Grade controls	Yes	Yes	No
Student characteristics ^a	No	Yes	No
Student fixed effects	No	No	Yes
R^2	.032	.045	.906
All students in grades 3–5 ($N = 4,797$):			
Universal free SBP	004	004	005***
Offiversat free obj	(.005)	(.005)	(.001)
20089	.002	.003	.002**
2000-9	(.002)	(.002)	(.001)
School controls	Yes	Yes	No
Grade controls	Yes	Yes	No
Student characteristics ^b	No.	Yes	No
	No	No	Yes
Student fixed effects R ²	.031	.073	.917
Economically disadvantaged students in grades 3–5 ($N = 3,773$):	004	− .004	- .006***
Universal free SBP	(.005)	(.005)	(.002)
0000	.002	.002	.002*
2008–9	(.003)	(.002)	(.001)
Out out our tout	(.003) Yes	Yes	No
School controls		Yes	No
Grade controls	Yes	Yes	No
Student characteristics ^b	No	No	Yes
Student fixed effects R ²	No	.069	.924
Nondisadvantaged students in grades 3–5 ($N = 1,024$):	.028	.069	.924
Universal free SBP	004	004	003
	(.005)	(.005)	(.002)
2008–9	.004	.004	.001
	(.004)	(.004)	(.002)
School controls	Yes	Yes	No
Grade controls	Yes	Yes	No
Student characteristics ^b	No	Yes	No
Student fixed effects	No	No	Yes
R^2	.039	.075	.962

Note.—Coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) estimated from ordinary least squares models with school and grade fixed effects. Models estimated for four change and six comparison schools. Standard errors account for clustering by school (cols. 1 and 2) or student (col. 3). SBP = School Breakfast Program.

^a Controls for student characteristics include indicators for gender and black, Hispanic, or other nonwhite race/ethnicity.

^b Controls for student characteristics include indicators for gender; black, Hispanic, or other nonwhite race/ethnicity; economic disadvantage; limited English proficiency; math or reading giftedness; and exceptionalness (disability).

^{*} Significant at 10%.

^{**} Significant at 5%.

^{***} Significant at 1%.

The NCERDC data for the first and second graders only have a limited set of covariates. More measures, including controls for economic disadvantage, limited English proficiency, giftedness, and exceptionality, are available for the older students who were subject to testing. The second panel of table 5 reports results from models estimated using these older students. The specifications for these models are similar to those from the first panel, except that we included the additional controls in the model in column 2. The coefficients for all three specifications are negative and similar in magnitude to the coefficients in the top panel. As with the top panel, only the coefficient in the student fixed-effects model is statistically significant.

The negative association between universal free breakfast provision and attendance is something of a puzzle, although the study by Peterson and colleagues (2004) also finds a modest negative association. Universal free provision has such a strong positive association with breakfast participation, which can only occur if more students show up in the cafeteria in the morning. Two explanations might reconcile these results. The first potential explanation is that the increased use of school breakfasts may interfere with families' morning routines. For example, parents and children living in households that depend on school breakfasts may sleep later in the morning, increasing the risk that children miss their school buses.¹² Alternatively, the structure of a regular morning meal may help parents and children to organize their time. Ashlesha Datar and Nancy Nicosia (2012) report that elementary students are more likely to eat breakfast at home, rather than school, if their mothers work. A second potential explanation is that participating in the SBP may increase children's exposure to colds and the flu. Simon Cauchemez and colleagues (2011) studied a 2009 H1N1 flu outbreak in an elementary school in Pennsylvania and find that class structure and children's play patterns are important factors for transmission. Calatayud and colleagues (2010) conducted a case study of an outbreak of the same flu strain in a London school and found that class structure and attendance at a large social event may have spread transmission. At lunch

^{12.} Consider the schedules of two children living in separate households who differ in their SBP participation. Assume that each child requires 30 minutes to rise, wash, dress, and gather things for school and 15 minutes to eat a meal. Suppose that because of these requirements, the child who participates in the SBP typically wakes up 30 minutes before the school bus arrives, while the child who does not participate in the SBP typically wakes up 45 minutes before the bus arrives. If something goes wrong (e.g., an alarm fails or a child oversleeps), the SBP participant will have 15 fewer minutes to recover than the nonparticipant and be at higher risk of missing her bus.

time in the schools we study, students generally stand in line and sit with their own class, so exposure to illness would not be much greater than in the classroom and would not be much affected by meal participation. During breakfast, however, students get into the meal line as they arrive at school and are free to sit with children who are not their classmates, which could increase exposure and contagion rates. One piece of evidence supporting this potential explanation is that the attendance differentials in the data were highest during the winter months.

The bottom two panels of table 5 list results from models of attendance rates that are estimated separately for third through fifth graders who qualified for free and reduced-price meals (were economically disadvantaged) and who did not qualify for these subsidies. One reason for dividing the students this way is that economically disadvantaged students tend to have lower attendance rates than more advantaged students. Another reason is that breakfast participation among the disadvantaged students is less responsive to the provision of universal free breakfasts than participation among other students. If changes in students' own breakfast participation are directly responsible for their changes in attendance, such as by interfering with family routines, we might see larger attendance associations among the nondisadvantaged students. As it turns out, no such effect is apparent. In the models with only school and grade controls and the models that include observed student characteristics, the estimated associations between universal free breakfast provision and attendance are identical. When student-specific effects are included in column 3, the results diverge, with the association for economically disadvantaged students becoming especially negative and the association for nondisadvantaged students losing its significance. At a minimum, the pattern of results suggests that the attendance associations are not monotonically tied to students' own breakfast participation. This could arise if economically disadvantaged students just respond differently or if the effects of universal free breakfast provision are indirect, such as by increasing exposure to illnesses. However, the results could also indicate that the attendance changes are a statistical artifact.

TEST SCORES

Table 6 reports regression results from models estimated using studentlevel test data. We examine binary indicators of whether the students achieved proficiency in math, reading, and science and continuous measures of test scores for the students who took the general versions of these tests. The results in the top row of table 6 are from restricted models that only include controls for schools, grades, and the year of the observation. The estimated associations of universal free breakfast provision and students' math and reading test outcomes are all small and statistically insignificant. For example, the point estimates on the math test results indicate that universal free breakfast provision is associated with a 1 percent increase in proficiency and a .07 standard deviation increase in the test score. Universal free breakfast provision is estimated to be associated with a marginally significant 7 percent increase in science proficiency but only a small (.1 standard deviation) and statistically insignificant increase in the science test score.

In the next rows of table 6, we report results from models that also included student-level controls for gender, race/ethnicity, meal subsidy status, limited English proficiency, giftedness, disability status, and days in school membership. The fit of the models improved markedly when these controls were added (the controls were jointly significant in all of the models). However, the estimated associations between universal free breakfast provision and the test outcomes are little changed from the restricted models. The models continue to indicate a marginally significant, 7 percentage point positive association with science proficiency rates and small, statistically insignificant associations with all of the other test outcomes.

Elementary school students take EOG reading and math tests each year, starting in the third grade. Thus, for children who were in the third or fourth grade in 2007–8 and who continued attending our analysis schools, we can estimate models for math and reading test outcomes that include student fixed effects. These models are useful because they control for many characteristics of students that might be hard to measure, such as students' general motivation and home environments. Estimates from student fixed-effects models of math and reading test results in the next rows of table 6 are qualitatively similar to the estimates from the more restrictive models and continue to indicate that there is little association between universal free breakfast provision and students' test outcomes.¹³

The availability of student-level controls in the NCERDC data also allows us to examine test outcomes separately for students who are and are not economically disadvantaged. The remaining rows in table 6 report results from models estimated separately for these two groups. The separate

^{13.} It is not possible to estimate fixed-effects specifications for students' science test outcomes because students only take this test once while they are in elementary school.

End-of-Grade Test Score Regression Results for Guilford County Change and Comparison Schools TABLE 6.

Math

Science

Reading

				Summer of the su		100
	Proficiency	Standardized Score	Proficiency	Standardized Score	Proficiency	Raw Score
Results for all tested students: Models estimated with school, grade, and year controls:						
Universal free SBP	.010.	FO. (FO.)	.005	.052	.071**	.950
2008–9 AY	.129***	.209***	.137***	.206***	,**141.	3.013***
R ²	.038	.055	.033	.040	.046	.078
Models estimated with school, grade, year, and student characteristic controls:						
Universal free SBP	.014	.045	000.	.029	**890.	.740
2008–9 AY	.144***	.229***		.216***	.148***	3.051***
R2	(.016) .133	(.045) .275	(.016) .172	(.037) 270.	(.032) .226	(.878)
Models estimated with year and student fixed-effects						
Universal free SBP	017	015	900.—	.0002		
2008–9 AY	(.022)	(.028) .176***	(.020)	(.028)		
R 2	(.013) .892	.949	(.013)	(.018) .952		
Tests	4,579	4,310	4,571	4,261	1,474	1,374
Results for economically disadvantaged students: Models estimated with school, grade, year, and student characteristic controls:						
Universal free SBP	.023	.048	.008	.027	.080**	.404
2008–9 AY	.139***	.218***	.145***	.199***	.160***	2.973**
R^2	.127	.248	151.	.234	191.	.255

d-effects
fixed
and student
and
year
with
estimated
Models

				1,066				2.119*	(.939)	3.664***	(.724)	.385								308
				1,159				.015	(.053)	160.	(.056)	.306								315
010	(.035)	.135*** (.022)	.955	3,321				.052	(.078)	.288***	(650.)	.318		— U36	(990)	(000:)	.112**	(.045)	.958	940
900	(.025)	.132*** (.015)	.901	3,589				003	(.034)	.159***	(670.)	.193		1001	(2007)	(CtO:)	.135***	(.033)	806.	982
Ö	.004	.189***	,950	3,367				.048	(.104)	.284***	(.046)	.325		070	(kgC)	(tco.)	.148***	(.037)	696:	943
Č	.001	.085***	,898	3,597				010.—	(.045)	.168***	(.029)	.142		- 067	(042)	(540.)	***880.	(.025)	.918	982
controls:	Universal free SBP	2008–9 AY	R^2	Tests	Results for nondisadvantaged students:	Models estimated with school, grade, year, and student	characteristic controls:	Universal free SBP		2008-9 AY		R ²	Models estimated with year and student fixed-effects		Universal free SBP		2008–9 AY		R ²	Tests

student-level data for four change and six comparison schools. The models with student characteristic controls include controls for gender; black, Hispanic, or other nonwhite Note.—Coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) from ordinary least squares regression models estimated using North Carolina Education Research Data Center race/ethnicity, economic disadvantage; limited English proficiency; math or reading giftedness; exceptionalness (disability); and days in membership. In the models with student fixed effects, only the economic disadvantage and days in membership controls are used. Standard errors account for clustering by school or student. SBP = School Breakfast Program; AY = academic year

gram; AY = academic * Significant at 10%.

** Significant at 5%.

*** Significant at 1%.

models, however, do not lead to substantive changes in the results. There is no evidence for either group that universal free breakfast provision is associated with reading or math test results or with science raw scores. Universal free breakfast provision continues to be associated with science test proficiency among economically disadvantaged children but not among other children.

CONCLUSION

In this article, we examine how students' school meal participation, attendance, and test performance changed after the Guilford County School system in North Carolina changed the way that several of its Title I elementary schools operated their school breakfast programs. In particular, three schools that had been serving breakfasts on a universal free basis changed to less generous eligibility-based programs, while one school that operated an eligibility-based program initiated a universal free program. The changes in provision had features of a natural experiment and thus represent a nearly exogenous source of variation. To further identify causal effects, our analyses employ a difference-in-difference methodology in which we examine outcomes at schools in the year before and the year after the breakfast programs changed and at schools that did and did not experience these changes. For the nonchanging schools, we consider schools that are exactly comparable to the changing schools in terms of their calendars. programs, Title I status, and geography and mostly comparable in their student characteristics. Our study also relies on administrative, rather than self-reported, sources of data.

These analytical advantages notwithstanding, there are limitations; the study only considers a small number of schools in a single school district. The small number of schools reduces the statistical power of the analyses, although we are able to estimate significant relationships for several outcomes. The restriction to a single school system, even a large, diverse, and predominantly urban system like the GCS, limits the generalizability of the results and increases the susceptibility to one-off, random shocks.

The analyses reveal that breakfast participation rates fell substantially at the schools that switched to eligibility-based programs and rose just as substantially at the school that switched to a universal free program. Although we hypothesized that the participation responses might be faster at schools that lost universal free programs than at schools that gained them, the estimated responses were nearly symmetric at the two types of

schools. In each case, universal free breakfast provision was associated with a 12–16 percent increase in SBP participation.

There were differences in participation between different types of students. Participation changed the most for the students who faced the largest change in their effective costs—students who were not otherwise eligible for free or reduced-price meals. However, participation also changed substantially for students who qualified for free meals. The latter result is consistent with universal free SBP provision reducing the stigma associated with participating in the SBP.

We also examine participation in the school lunch program at the schools. We find some evidence that changing from a universal free SBP to an eligibility-based program was associated with lower lunch participation among paid-eligible students, another result that seems consistent with universal free programs reducing the stigma or improving the perceptions of school meals. Lunch participation among free- and reduced-price-eligible students was not changed, and because paid-eligible students were only a small fraction of the students at our study schools, overall lunch participation was little changed.

Our analyses of attendance lead to an unexpected, albeit tentative, finding: schools that switched from universal free to eligibility-based SBPs experienced small gains in attendance. We examine attendance using two different data sources: monthly grade-level data for each school and confidential student-level data. Similar findings appear in both sources, but we are only able to obtain precise results with the student-level data. Although the result is unexpected, it is not unprecedented; Peterson and colleagues (2004) report a similar result. The difference that we find is small; it works out to about 1 day a year in attendance. We speculate that school breakfast participation may interfere with families' morning routines, possibly leading some children to miss transportation connections. Breakfast participation may also increase children's exposure to contagious illnesses. When we examine attendance on a month-by-month basis, the largest differences appear in the winter months when colds and flu are especially prevalent. Also, the attendance changes are largest for economically disadvantaged students, students whose breakfast participation changed the least, which suggests an indirect effect, perhaps through illnesses. Given the tentative nature of this finding, it should be a focus of further study.

We find little evidence that universal free breakfast provision changed students' standardized test performance. Over the period that we study, test results across our analysis schools improved markedly. The improvements were generally just as strong at the elementary schools that lost, gained, and did not change universal free breakfast programs. One area in which there might have been an association was in fifth graders' science scores, which appeared to be positively related to universal free breakfast provision. We do not place much confidence in this result, however, because it was limited to one measure of test performance and not robust when using another measure. Also, science tests are administered less frequently than the other math and reading tests that we examine; because of this, we could not implement some of the more rigorous statistical techniques for science tests that we could with the other tests.

The available evidence points to large changes in school breakfast participation but few academic harms, either in terms of attendance or standardized test results, from the GCS decision to scale back its universal free breakfast programs. These findings are consistent with those of other recent careful studies of universal free programs. The absence of academic harms may be explained by families substituting household breakfasts for school-provided breakfasts and relatively few children actually going without breakfast. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge other nonacademic harms that may have accompanied the change, including economic losses for the families that began providing breakfasts and increased stigma for the children that continued participating in the program. The ability to maintain academic performance under such challenging circumstances may attest to families' and individual children's resilience.

APPENDIX

TABLE A1. Sources of Data

Source/Measure	Unit of Observation	Periodicity
GCS School Nutrition Services office: Number of breakfasts served (total and by free, reduced-price, and paid-eligible		
status) Number of lunches served (total and by free, reduced-price, and paid-eligible	School	Monthly
status)	School	Monthly
% students free eligible	School	Annual
% students reduced-price eligible Students in daily membership (for	School	Annual
participation rate calculations) School days in period	School	Annual Monthly
Universal free SBP	School	Annual

TABLE A1. (continued)

Source/Measure	Unit of Observation	Periodicity
Title status*	School	Annual
Calendars, programs, and SACS		
accreditation*	School	Annual
City*	School	
North Carolina Department of Public Instruction:		
Average daily membership	School	Annual
% students black	School	Annual
% students Hispanic	School	Annual
% students female	School	Annual
% students economically disadvantaged	School	Annual
Attendance (days attending and in		
membership)	Grade within school	Monthly
Math, reading, and science test proficiency		•
rates	Grade within school	Annual
North Carolina Education Research Data		
Center:		
Attendance (days attending and in		
membership)	Student	Annual
Math, reading, and science test and		
proficiency scores	Student	Annual
School	Student	Annual
Grade	Student	Annual
Gender	Student	Annual
Black	Student	Annual
Hispanic	Student	Annual
Other nonwhite race/ethnicity	Student	Annual
Economically disadvantaged	Student	Annual
Limited English proficiency	Student	Annual
Math or reading gifted	Student	Annual
Exceptional (disabled)	Student	Annual

Note.—GCS = Guilford County Schools; SBP = School Breakfast Program; SACS = Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

NOTE

David C. Ribar is a professor in the Department of Economics at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and a research fellow at the Institute for the Study of Labor in Bonn, Germany.

Lauren A. Haldeman is an associate professor in the Department of Nutrition at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

The authors gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Economic Research Service of the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) under Food Assistance and Nutrition Research Program Cooperative Agreement no. 58-5000-8-0124. They also thank the North Carolina Education Research Data Center (NCERDC) for providing student-level data on test scores

^{*} Used to select comparison schools but not directly included as controls.

and attendance. In addition, the authors thank Theresa Brumfit, Sara Himmelrich, Joanne Guthrie, Megan Larson, Constance Newman, Cynthia Sevier, and Gongshu Zhang for their assistance. They also thank Melayne McInnes, Amit Sharma, and three anonymous reviewers for comments. The views expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the USDA, the NCERDC, or the Guilford County Schools.

REFERENCES

- Bartlett, Susan, Frederic Glantz, and Christopher Logan. 2008. School Lunch and Breakfast Cost Study II: Final Report. Special Nutrition Programs Report no. CN-08-MCII. Alexandria, VA: USDA Food and Nutrition Service.
- Belot, Michèle, and Jonathan James. 2011. "Healthy School Meals and Educational Outcomes." *Journal of Health Economics* 30:489–504.
- Bernstein, Lawrence S., John E. McLaughlin, Mary K. Crepinsek, Lynn M. Daft, and J. Michael Murphy. 2004. Evaluation of the School Breakfast Program Pilot Project: Final Report. Special Nutrition Programs Report no. CN-04-SBP. Alexandria, VA: USDA Food and Nutrition Service.
- Calatayud, L., S. Kurkela, P. E. Neave, A. Brock, S. Perkins, M. Zuckerman, M. Sudhanva, A. Bermingham, J. Ellis, R. Pebody, M. Catchpole, R. Heathcock, and H. Maguire. 2010. "Pandemic (H1N1) 2009 Virus Outbreak in a School in London, April–May 2009: An Observational Study." *Epidemiology and Infection* 138:183–91.
- Cauchemez, Simon, Achuyt Bhattarai, Tiffany L. Marchbanks, Ryan P. Fagan, Stephen Ostroff, Neil M. Ferguson, David Swedlow, and the Pennsylvania H1N1 Working Group. 2011. "Role of Social Networks in Shaping Disease Transmission during a Community Outbreak of 2009 H1N1 Pandemic Influenza." Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 108:2825–30.
- Connell, David, and Mary K. Fox. 2004. "School Breakfast Program." In *Effects of Food Assistance and Nutrition Programs on Nutrition and Health*, vol. 3, *Literature Review*, edited by Mary K. Fox, William Hamilton, and Biing-Hwan Lin. Food Assistance and Nutrition Research Report no. 19-3. Washington, DC: USDA Economic Research Service.
- Datar, Ashlesha, and Nancy Nicosia. 2012. "Outsourcing Meals: Effects of Maternal Work on Children's School Meal Participation." *Social Service Review* 86:565–93.
- Figlio, David N., and Joshua Winicki. 2005. "Food for Thought: The Effects of School Accountability Plans on School Nutrition." *Journal of Public Economics* 89:381–94.
- Glantz, Frederic B., Regina Berg, Diane Porcari, Ellen Sackoff, and Shelley Pazer. 1994. School Lunch Eligible Nonparticipants: Final Report. Washington, DC: USDA Food and Nutrition Service.
- Haldeman, Lauren A., Sara S. Himmelrich, and David C. Ribar. 2011. *Process Analysis of Changes in Universal-Free School Breakfast Programs in Guilford County, NC*. Contractor and Cooperator Report no. 73-1. Washington, DC: USDA Economic Research Service.
- Hoyland, Alexa, Louise Dye, and Clare L. Lawton. 2009. "A Systematic Review of the Effect of Breakfast on the Cognitive Performance of Children and Adolescents." Nutrition Research Reviews 22:220–43.

- Kleinman, Ronald E., S. Hall, H. Green, D. Korzec-Ramirez, K. Patton, Maria E. Pagano, and J. Michael Murphy. 2002. "Diet, Breakfast, and Academic Performance in Children." *Annals of Nutrition and Metabolism* 46:24–30.
- Leos-Urbel, Jacob, Amy E. Schwartz, Meryle Weinstein, and Sean Corcoran. 2011. "Not Just for Poor Kids: The Impact of Universal Free School Breakfast on Meal Participation and Student Outcomes." Unpublished manuscript. New York University.
- Murphy, J. Michael, Mary E. Pagano, Joan Nachmani, Peter Sperling, Shirley Kane, and Ronald E. Kleinman. 1998. "The Relationship of School Breakfast to Psychosocial and Academic Functioning." *Archives of Pediatric and Adolescent Medicine* 152:899–907.
- Murphy, Simon, G. F. Moore, K. Tapper, R. Lynch, R. Clarke, L. Raisanen, C. Desousa, and L. Moore. 2011. "Free Healthy Breakfasts in Primary Schools: A Cluster Randomised Controlled Trial of a Policy Intervention in Wales, UK." *Public Health Nutrition* 14:219–26.
- NCDPI (North Carolina Department of Public Instruction). 2011. The North Carolina State Testing Results: "The Green Book." Raleigh, NC: Public Schools of North Carolina.
- Peterson, Kristin, Mark L. Davison, Kyla Wahlstrom, John Himes, Mary Stevens, Young S. Seo, Margaret L. Irish, Kristine Holleque, Jeffrey Harring, and Anastasia Hansen. 2004. Fastbreak to Learning School Breakfast Program: A Report of the Fourth Year Results, 2002–03. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Rainville, Alice J., and Deborah H. Carr. 2008. "In-Classroom Breakfast: Best Practices in Three School Districts." *Journal of Child Nutrition and Management* 32, no. 2. http://www.schoolnutrition.org/Content.aspx?id=10604.
- Rampersaud, Gail C., Mark A. Pereira, Beverly L. Girard, Judi Adams, and Jordan D. Metzl. 2005. "Breakfast Habits, Nutritional Status Body Weight, and Academic Performance in Children and Adolescents." *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 105:743–60.
- Ribar, David C., and Lauren A. Haldeman. 2011. *Universal-Free and Eligibility-Based School Breakfast Programs in Guilford County, North Carolina: Student Outcomes*. Contractor and Cooperator Report no. 73-2. Washington, DC: USDA Economic Research Service.
- Roustit, Christelle, Anne-Marie Hamelin, Francesca Grillo, Judith Martin, and Pierre Chauvin. 2010. "Food Insecurity: Could School Food Supplementation Help Break Cycles of Intergenerational Transmission of Inequalities?" *Pediatrics* 126:1174–81.
- US Agricultural Research Service. 2010. "Breakfast: Percentages of Selected Nutrients Contributed by Foods Eaten at Breakfast, by Family Income (as % of Federal Poverty Threshold) and Age." In *What We Eat in America*. National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey, 2007–2008. Washington, DC: US Department of Agriculture. Last modified August. http://www.ars.usda.gov/SP2UserFiles/Place/12355000/pdf/0708/Table_16_BRK_POV_07.pdf.
- US Economic Research Service. 2010. "The Food Assistance Landscape: FY 2009 Annual Report." Economic Information Bulletin no. 6-7. Washington, DC: USDA Economic Research Service.
- US Food and Nutrition Service. 2001. "National School Lunch Program and School Breakfast Program: Alternatives to Standard Application and Meal Counting Procedures, Final Rule." 66 Fed. Reg. 48323–34.

Book Reviews

Persistence, Privilege, and Parenting: The Comparative Study of Intergenerational Mobility. Edited by Timothy M. Smeeding, Robert Erikson, and Markus Jantti. New York: Russell Sage, 2011. Pp. 392. \$49.95 (paper).

The idea of economic and social mobility has always been central to American ideology and political rhetoric. But the findings from the academic literature on intergenerational mobility are just starting to make their way into the public realm. Part of the reason for the slow diffusion of academic research into the political arena and the public discourse is that mobility research is difficult to interpret. Without a reference point, it is not clear whether an estimated intergenerational income elasticity of .5 should be thought of as high or low. There are two natural ways to establish reference points that allow for more interpretable research on intergenerational mobility. The first is to compare current levels of mobility to levels from some previous period in order to assess whether economic mobility is improving or worsening. The problem with this approach is that the available data available are not well-equipped to identify trends, and the research that has been put forth has not led to clear conclusions about whether economic mobility is getting better or worse. The second is to compare the level of mobility in the United States to levels in other nations around the world. That's what this book does, and it does so effectively.

To be frank, this is not a book written for the general public, and with the exception of the introduction and a few of the empirical chapters, it is not packaged in an accessible style that would be most suitable for policy makers. If the chapters are a bit dry and technical, they are also uniformly careful, detailed, rigorous, and informative. This is a book written for researchers, and those who are interested in remaining up to date on the highest quality comparative research on intergenerational mobility should read this volume.

The introductory chapter, written by the editors, reviews the findings from comparative research on intergenerational mobility, discusses evidence on trends in inequality and mobility, and describes the core mecha-

nisms that drive national patterns of mobility. The editors provide a particularly important discussion of the link between economic mobility and inequality. Public opinion research tells us that Americans believe that inequality is acceptable as long as there is sufficient opportunity for mobility (Christopher Jencks and Laura Tach, "Would Equal Opportunity Mean More Mobility?" Pp. 23-58 in Mobility and Inequality: Frontiers of Research in Sociology and Economics, edited by S. Morgan, D. Grusky, and G. Fields [Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006]). However, the cross-national research reviewed in the introduction demonstrates that national levels of inequality and mobility appear to be associated, meaning nations with high levels of inequality also tend to have lower levels of economic mobility. This relationship is based on imperfect data from only a small number of nations, and thus should not be considered conclusive. Nonetheless, the possibility of an association between inequality and mobility is worrisome when one considers the tremendous growth in income inequality in the United States and other countries like Canada and the United Kingdom. In nations where economic inequality has grown, the editors argue that there may be a new set of pathways by which economic or occupational advantages are passed on from one generation to the next, thus reducing levels of economic or social mobility. The possibility that growing inequality may be accompanied by declining opportunity adds new urgency to the comparative study of both inequality and mobility, and thus motivates the remainder of the book effectively.

The empirical chapters that follow provide a range of different types of evidence and insights on variation in patterns of intergenerational mobility across nations; specifically, the United States, Canada, several nations in Western Europe, Scandinavia, and Japan. Three common questions are addressed in the empirical chapters that compose the book: (1) how does the level of intergenerational mobility vary across these nations? (2) what are the most important mechanisms by which parents' position in the economic or occupational distribution is transmitted to the next generation, and how do these mechanisms vary across nations? and (3) how do national social policies affect national levels of intergenerational economic or social mobility?

The volume is most convincing in providing descriptive evidence that responds to the first question relating to variation across nations. The editors and the chapter authors are some of the most prominent and wellrespected international researchers of economic and occupational mobility, and their expertise is visible in the rigor of the analyses, in the strategic selection of nations for comparisons, and in the thoughtful interpretations of the findings. If there is one consistent empirical conclusion that arises repeatedly in the descriptive analyses of intergenerational mobility, it is the conclusion that the United States is not a nation of opportunity. The United States is distinguished from Europe and other industrial nations by its unique immobility. This empirical finding has been documented in previous research, but it is driven home in this volume through multiple comparisons and different types of analyses.

Beyond the basic question of which nations are more mobile or less mobile, several chapters in this volume offer particularly revealing analyses of how the process of mobility differs across nations. As an example, in chapter 3, Miles Corak and his coauthors compare levels of intergenerational economic mobility in the United States and Canada and confirm that relative mobility is lower in the United States. But they also document that the difference in overall mobility is driven by the lack of mobility at the bottom and the top of the US income distribution. In chapter 5, Jan Jonsson and several coauthors confirm that occupational reproduction is declining in all four of the nations they study (Sweden, United States, Japan, and Germany), but they go on to argue that occupational mobility is shifting in different ways in these countries. Only in the United States and Japan, for instance, is growing occupational mobility attributable to a decline in the intergenerational reproduction of the "big classes," meaning the large categories of occupations like managers and professionals, manual service workers, and so forth. In demonstrating that the more complex changes in occupational mobility in Sweden and Germany do not fit this pattern, the authors shift the literature away from a simplistic and unified account of how the reproduction of the class structure is changing in different societies.

These examples relate to the first key question addressed in the book, which focuses on the level of intergenerational mobility across nations. Many of the chapters provide important insights into the second and third questions as well, which focus on the explanation of cross-national variation in levels of mobility. However, the progress that is made in answering these questions is limited somewhat by the data available and by the various study designs that are utilized throughout the chapters. The dominant approach in several chapters of the book is to analyze the degree to which

individual- or family-level characteristics influence or explain the level of intergenerational mobility within a nation or across nations and then to make inferences about the national institutions or the policies that might help to explain cross-national variation in these individual- or family-level relationships.

Let me provide a few examples. In chapter 2, Jo Blanden and several coauthors show that educational attainment appears to be more important for predicting adult income in the United States than in Great Britain, while attachment to the labor force is more important in Britain than in the United States. The authors link these findings to the unique stratification systems in each country. In chapter 4 Fabian Pfeffer analyzes the relationship between parental wealth and children's adult educational attainment and occupational status in the United States and Germany. Parental wealth is found to be a strong predictor of adult outcomes in each country, but only in the United States does parental wealth continue to be associated with adult occupational status after adjusting for children's educational attainment. Pfeffer argues that differences in the educational systems and welfare states of the two nations may help to moderate the effects of wealth in Germany relative to the United States. In chapter 7, Greg Duncan and his coauthors demonstrate that the relationship between child poverty and adult attainment is stronger in the United States than in Norway. The authors argue that Norwegian social policy likely mitigates the harmful impact of growing up poor.

This approach to the comparative study of intergenerational mobility makes sense when one considers the data available and the difficulties that arise in attempting to demonstrate the causal effects of national institutions or social policies. The authors go as far as the available data will take them in identifying key differences in patterns of mobility across nations. Several of the chapters focus on characteristics of individuals and families that are likely to mediate the relationship between the state and the opportunities available to individuals, and just about all provide insightful interpretations of the mechanisms that may be operating to explain the variation across nations. Still, it is important to note that this book contains virtually no original empirical analysis demonstrating the effects of key social institutions or policies that are assumed to be driving the individual-level or family-level relationships that are observed in the data.

In this sense, the analyses in several chapters are reminiscent of status attainment research that was dominant in sociology decades ago and that

still is common in the literature on stratification and mobility in economics and sociology. One of the major limitations of this strand of research is that it focuses primary empirical attention on factors that lie within the individual or the family and is typically not able to capture or assess empirically the role of the social, political, and economic structure in which intergenerational mobility takes place. Individuals' educational, occupational, and economic trajectories are influenced, if not structured, by the opportunities available to individuals in the labor market and by the institutions with which individuals come into contact. This point is emphasized throughout the chapters that compose this volume, but direct evidence on the importance of the labor market, on institutions like the education system, on the safety net, and on other important social policies is missing. There is a reason for this. The empirical challenges associated with demonstrating the effects of national institutions or social policies are daunting, as noted by Pfeffer in chapter 5 and again in the concluding chapter in the volume. I note this limitation not to critique the approach that is taken in most of the empirical chapters of the book but rather to highlight one of the central limitations found in much of the comparative literature on intergenerational mobility.

The empirical limitations of the book reflect a larger tension regarding the role that empirical analysis can play in the comparative study of economic mobility (and inequality, for that matter). To make credible comparisons across nations requires comparable long-term panel data sets from a large number of nations. A great deal of progress has been made on this front, allowing for basic comparisons of the level of mobility across multiple dimensions in several nations. To go beyond description and begin to understand the mechanisms driving variation across nations requires making the assumption that researchers understand the key features of a nation that makes it more or less mobile. Ultimately, this involves speculation and educated guesswork from those with expertise on the specific nations and on the specific institutions or processes that are believed to be most relevant. When carried out well, as in this volume, this type of speculation can be insightful and informative for those of us interested in understanding what factors might be most important in the explanation of cross-national variation in intergenerational mobility.

However, the conclusions made in this book should be thought of as suggestive, but not causal, a point that is acknowledged at the outset by

the editors. The various chapters of this book analyze variation across nations, the result of many different unique political, economic, social, and cultural processes and histories. It is extremely difficult to identify one or even a few features of nations that explain their levels of economic or social mobility, and it is even more difficult to generate evidence that would identify the effect of that feature convincingly. If the goal is to identify the causal effects of specific policies or other economic or demographic shocks on intergenerational mobility, I would argue that there is more potential for exploiting variation arising from exogenous shocks within nations than there is in analyzing panel data sets collected in multiple nations. Rucker Johnson's recent research on the long-term benefits of school desegregation for African Americans, which exploits plausibly exogenous variation in the timing and location of desegregation orders, is an excellent example of this alternative approach ("Who's on the Bus? The Role of Schools as a Vehicle to Intergenerational Mobility," unpublished working paper, 2010).

But the identification of causal effects is not the only goal of social science. What the chapters in this volume do persuasively is highlight features of nations that are strong candidates for explaining varying levels of intergenerational mobility. The need for such cross-national comparisons is clear, as these comparisons are politically powerful. They allow us to view our nation in relation to the range of possibilities that exist in the developed world. They allow us to open our minds to a different social policy reality. And they provide basic, but crucially important, descriptive evidence on how processes of mobility differ across the developed world. This book is an important addition to the growing comparative literature on intergenerational mobility. I hope that it is read widely by academics and that the central findings begin to diffuse beyond the research community.

Patrick Sharkey
New York University

Somebody's Children: The Politics of Transracial and Transnational Adoption. By Laura Briggs. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012. Pp. 366. \$94.95 (cloth); \$25.95 (paper).

Somebody's Children is a comprehensive description of the complex realities and politics of both contemporary and historical transracial and

transnational adoptions. The many vulnerable children, who are supposedly rescued from impoverished families and sometimes orphanages and then transferred to wealthy middle-class mothers and fathers in the United States, serve as the impetus for Laura Briggs's bòok. Recalling the enormous media attention given to celebrity adopters, such as Angelina Jolie, who traveled to Ethiopia to adopt a baby whose mother supposedly died of AIDS; Madonna, who adopted a baby from Malawi who actually had a living parent; as well as the rush to Haiti by many to rescue children in the aftermath of the Haitian earthquake, Briggs offers extensive details about the realities of transnational adoption and concludes that often supposed orphans are in reality "somebody's children."

While writing this book, the author traveled extensively, visiting and studying the book's featured countries in order to create a useful, comprehensive publication that provides both details of and context for the ongoing debate surrounding transracial and international adoptions. The author clearly engaged in an enormous amount of investigation, reflection, dialogue, archival document review, and communication with experts in the field. She demonstrates commitment to the development of a document that can serve as a reference tool for other scholars, teachers, students, and advocates exploring these important child welfare issues. Briggs covers the politics of adoption in relation to child trafficking, reproductive rights, abortion prevention, and impoverished families, while challenging the assumptions that adopted children are always orphans, unwanted, or have been removed from abusive or neglectful parents. Not only does Briggs address these issues from an academic perspective, she also has a personal interest in the topic. In the book, she self-identifies as an Anglo lesbian whose Puerto Rican partner fostered and later adopted an 11-yearold Mexican-American girl. Through her personal experiences of attending trainings and preparing to adopt, as well as her experiences parenting. she is able to incorporate personal reflections about this issue as well.

In complete opposition to Elizabeth Bartholet's book, *Nobody's Children: Abuse and Neglect, Foster Drift and the Adoption Alternative* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), Briggs indicates that there is a need for a "history of adoption that pays as much attention to the position of those who lose children in adoption as to those who receive them" (18). She calls attention to Bartholet's opposition to kinship foster care, policies that favor family reunification, and race-matching policies designed to prevent white

families from adopting children of color. Briggs's book, on the other hand, endeavors to give history and voice to those to who have largely remained invisible.

The author introduces her examination of the politics and experiences of adoption in the United States. She focuses on the politics associated with changes in adoption practices and policies over time, highlights changing views about the relationship between race and poverty policy, and, finally, examines the high governmental and societal costs of the growing numbers of children in foster care. This approach contrasts with other researchers who examine the growth in transracial and transnational adoptions as being primarily due to changes in supply and demand, caused by the reduction in unwed births due to increased usage of birth control and legalized abortion practices.

Briggs opens her first line of argument by identifying the concurrent changes in race and poverty policies and practices over time and specifies how the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) and the Multiethnic Placement Act (MEPA) have had a differential impact on Native American compared to African American children and families in the United States. She elaborates on this point by providing examples of the overrepresentation of African American children in the child welfare system, the "demonization" of black and Latino women as "crack mothers," and the portrayal of Native American women perpetrating "genocide against their children by drinking during pregnancy, as factors which drove Congress to move away from policies and programs which support these mothers to policies which promote the adoption of these children by white families" (9).

Her second argument focuses on the need to carefully examine the practice of intercountry adoption and specifically to examine policy and economic changes as well as wars that have played a role in adoption. Briggs argues that it is critical to examine the "microclimates and social geographies in which individual mothers outside the U.S. relinquish or lose their children" (10). Specifically, she examines intercountry adoptions from the perspective of Latin America, which for many years was the highest sending region for children for international adoptions. Briggs chooses to use Guatemala as a case study of Latin American adoptions, for the following reasons: first, in 2006 Guatemala had the highest per capita rate of adoption in the world (10); second, Guatemala has welcomed gay and lesbian adopters; and third, the country has been "all but unreg-

ulated, and highly lucrative" (10) to the point that dropping a child off at an orphanage "becomes one of the reliable strategies mothers use to get food or medical care for their child" (11).

The third argument focuses on the changing status of two groups in the United States in recent years: the lesbian/gay (LGBT) community and the immigrant community. Briggs highlights the rising status of gays and lesbians as adoption resources for hard to place children. However, she also expresses major concern about the vulnerable status of the US citizen children of immigrant parents who are being placed into foster care as their parents have become more vulnerable to deportation.

The preceding three arguments are further developed in the subsequent seven chapters of the book, which are divided into three parts. The book ends with an epilogue and over 60 pages of citations and references. Part 1, "Transracial Adoption in the United States," begins by tracing the historical events associated with African American children and adoption from 1950 to 1975. Not only identifying and highlighting the events leading to the disproportionate representation of black children in foster care, Briggs also discusses the countervailing perspectives of former Assistant Secretary of Labor and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan who portrayed the black family from a deficit perspective, a "tangle of pathology" (47–48). This a term he used in his infamous 1965 report, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action." This occurred at a time when national black organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Association of Black Social Workers highlighted the positives and the psychological benefit of black children being raised in their own families and communities. Briggs highlights some of the major historical events, literature of the period, and position statements that related to removing children from black single mothers and the belief held by many during the period that black women were having children in order to get more Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) benefits. Briggs very carefully and skillfully links the issues of the period to race, reproduction, and the politics of reproduction.

In part 1, Briggs also historically chronicles significant Native American events and policies beginning with the 1890s federal policy to "'civilize' the savage" (66) by separating Native American children from their families and sending them to boarding schools. She provides detailed analysis of other events and policies that affected Native people over the years, including the role of the American Indian Defense Association and the

American Association of Indian Affairs, which fought for tribal sovereignty in child welfare issues and other practices and policies juxtaposing assimilation and sovereignty, eventually leading to the passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) of 1978.

Briggs concludes part 1 by parsing out the varying positions taken by neoliberals, the Christian Right, the Moral Majority, political parties, advocacy groups, and many others on the politics of race and adoption during the period between 1975 and 2000. She details their positions with respect to a number of factors that can lead to a growth in the number of children in out-of-home care, including delayed childbearing for middleclass women, and the demonization of black and Latino crack mothers giving birth to crack babies and Native American mothers giving birth to babies with fetal alcohol syndrome. Other issues highlighted include the growing number of private and independent adoptions agencies, high costs of private adoptions, as well as adoption reform measures. Briggs specifies how reform measures were designed to restructure foster care and establish policies that encourage adoptions, give tax credits to adopting families, provide time limits to terminate parental rights, and provide states bonuses for increasing adoptions. She also documents the factors leading to the passage of the Multiethnic Placement Act (MEPA), which aims to encourage adoption across racial lines. Briggs meticulously describes the debate surrounding the passage of MEPA and consistently calls attention to and challenges adoption as the neoliberal solution to the problem of supporting impoverished children by finding middle-class families to absorb the "social cost of their care" (125).

In part 2, "Transnational Adoption and Latin America," Briggs traces the roots of transnational adoption through the examination of changing political views of the world, the affect of evangelical Christians in the United States, and the impact of visual imagery of sad-eyed, often hungry homeless children. Tracing the work of the Christian Children's Fund, founded in 1938, which established "sponsor an orphan" campaigns, as well as the work of UNICEF, Briggs presents a chronology of events and changing beliefs and immigration and refugee policies all affecting international adoptions. Details are provided about numbers of children admitted to the United States under specific political administrations and different time periods within US history. For example, in 1939, a combination of anti-Communism, anti-Semitism, racism, and anti-immigrant fervor led to the defeat of the Wagner-Rogers bill, which would have allowed about "20 thousand [non-

Aryan] German children . . . to immigrate to the US outside of the narrow quotas imposed by the Immigration Act of 1924" (146).

Part 2 details other initiatives by liberal internationalist organizations, such as Protestant and Catholic organizations' involvement in child-rescue operations in Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam from the 1930s to the 1970s. These children were admitted to the United States under refugee visas and typically were considered orphans in this country. Over the years, the number of intercountry adoptions significantly increased, with the largest number coming from South Korea, with growing numbers from Colombia, Peru, Guatemala, Chile, and Paraguay. Briggs highlights the horrifying experiences of child kidnapping by "traffickers," baby selling, fraud, and denial that specifically occur in Guatemala. Briggs highlights themes and issues associated with transnational adoptions from Guatemala, such as family values; efforts of human rights organizations to stop child trafficking and address exploitation of mothers and children; and the contradictory narratives within the United States that these children are actually being rescued from the Third World.

In part 3, "Emerging Fights over the Politics of Adoption," the author focuses on the status of gay and lesbian adoptions. Beginning in the 1970s, she tracks the changing public opinion toward gay and lesbian adopters, who were initially viewed as threatening to children and later viewed as a resource for governments to use to provide homes for children. The perspectives of the Christian Right and gay activists are presented in this section. Specific court cases and state laws that have affected both the legality of gay marriage as well as the gradual shift toward providing LGBT people freer access to adoption by 2010 are discussed.

In the epilogue, Briggs predicts that the future battles will be over the rising numbers of US citizen children of immigrants (especially Guatemalans) being placed in foster care as their parents become increasingly vulnerable to deportation. Many of these families are working class, have young children, but cannot afford to pay for the care of their children while they are involved in domestic work. The author challenges whether this is the next group of vulnerable populations needing rescue—another socially marginalized group?

The author's thesis weaves policy, knowledge, historical and current events, political perspectives, values, as well as her personal experiences as she explores these important and controversial adoption issues. A major strength of the book is the extensive historical and contemporary details she provides in support of her three major arguments. It truly highlights the political nature of adoption policies and practices and how poverty, race, power and privilege, inequality, and social marginalization can all affect outcomes for children and families. She goes beyond the excitement for a family gaining a child and focuses on a critical issue of how people lose their children. This topic is understudied, as more research is needed on both vulnerable children and their birth families, as well as what policies and practices are needed to keep families from losing their children.

It is likely that others will provide counterarguments in this valuesladen debate over the winners and losers in transracial and international adoptions. However, Briggs has done an excellent job of challenging current beliefs, providing convincing arguments to extend the debate, and acknowledging that the facts are not always apparent in the cover stories about adoptions. Her concluding chapter persuades me that this issue is very much alive and will continue to be debated. The only missed opportunity I find in the book is the relatively limited examination of the situation of the children of immigrants. As growing numbers of immigrant families come to this country with their children, will policies and practices be put into place to support and sustain these families, or will many of these children also be viewed as potentially adoptable?

> Ruth McRoy Boston College Graduate School of Social Work

Street Therapists: Race, Affect, and Neoliberal Personhood in Latino Newark. By Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pp. 464. \$108.00 (cloth); \$30.00 (paper).

This book analyzes how Latinos, African Americans, and whites in Newark, New Jersey, understand each other and how these diverse groups negotiate interactions in a redeveloping city. Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas's ethnography looks mainly at Puerto Ricans but also Brazilians and Ecuadorians. She argues that some Latinos and Latinas become street therapists who gain insight into the emotions of Latinos and African Americans they encounter. Latino interpretation and understanding of African Americans are influenced by the poverty, racism, and the shock of acculturation following migration from Latin American countries to Newark. Latinos,

Ramos-Zayas asserts, are caught between two paths of assimilation, represented by their Portuguese and African American neighbors. By staking out a middle ground between these two populations, Latinos construct a proper affect that they use to succeed in a neoliberal city where employers and teachers value docility and friendliness, in addition to a tough demeanor necessary for success on the streets.

She begins by arguing that Newark during the 1960s riots became widely viewed as a city of angry African Americans and that view continues to influence how Latinos view African Americans. In contrast to black anger and aggressiveness, Latinos sought to distinguish themselves more positively as part of a "racial democracy" (19) based on their Latin American heritage where fluid race relations prevail. The author argues that Latinos present themselves as more cooperative and easy going and less confrontational than African Americans. Ramos-Zayas argues that these traits fit well in a neoliberal economy that demands that service workers make customers feel comfortable by being highly attuned to their emotions. Some Latinos, then, become so attuned to the emotions of others that they offer advice to help friends advance in the city. She calls these individuals "street therapists."

The author begins with a history of Newark's decline and redevelopment, and the history of the Puerto Rican, Brazilian, and Portuguese communities in the Ironbound and North Broadway neighborhoods. She interviewed merchants, parents, teachers, students, local leaders, and community advocates over the course of 5 years of research dating from 2001 to 2010. She observed and participated in adult education classes (ESL, GED, job training, and citizenship), where she created focus groups. She also traveled to Puerto Rico and Brazil to collect ethnographic data on the knowledge that the migrants brought with them to Newark about America's racial system. She asserts that Latin Americans generally conclude that African Americans are angry and aggressive and prone to complain about racism, which impeded advancing on the job. Latino interpretations of African American aggression created psychological concerns among Latin Americans. Street therapists were ordinary Latinos who sensitively negotiated the racial boundaries and interactions with African Americans and provided advice to others on how to deal with aggression. She notes that everyday interaction in the streets and on the job "propelled a therapeutic (and psychoanalytical) engagement, a heightened gaze of black bodies and mannerisms" by Latinos (3). Latinos, the author argues, believe that "racial democracy" in Latin America situates them favorably above the racial aggressiveness of African Americans and the "blandness, traditionalism, and lack of sensuality" that Latinos believe white Americans, including the Portuguese, possess (5).

Besides reacting to the presence of African Americans, the postindustrial, neoliberal economy requires that young workers, especially Latinos in low wage jobs, subordinate "rowdy and exuberant energy" and emphasize "docility and 'friendliness'" to serve customers most effectively (16). At the same time, Ramos-Zayas notes that Latinos recognize the commodification of racial stereotypes. Sometimes individuals and groups exploit those stereotypes in economically productive ways that can nevertheless cause community stress. For example, Latinos widely assert a belief in the myth of Brazilian physical beauty and sensuality, which Brazilians exploit in economically beneficial ways in the hospitality industry.

Chapter 1 argues that Latin Americans contrast their culture and attitudes to that of African Americans, believing that they confront in Newark an aggressive and angry African American community. In response, Latin Americans create an alternative emotional affect that reflects their homeland culture ("racial democracy"; 19) as well as the need to fit into a neoliberal economy that values docility and calm interactions with customers. The author asserts that African American rioting in the 1960s became associated with Newark's "feel," an aggression with which other groups contended by distancing themselves emotionally from African Americans. The chapter traces the suburbanization of most whites from the riot-torn city and the in-migration of Puerto Ricans in the 1970s. More recently, the public persona of Newark's Mayor Cory Booker stresses personal responsibility and a "healthy lifestyle" that symbolizes Newark's "renaissance" (61). His cool persona contrasted to the black aggression that the city was frequently associated with and signaled a new age.

Ramos-Zayas follows this with analysis of a documentary film about Puerto Rican soldiers in the 65th Infantry from 1899 to Vietnam. Despite the film, the author shows that Latin Americans are divided in Newark over military service, with recent immigrants such as Ecuadorians favoring military service as a form of discipline. In contrast, Puerto Ricans only see the military as a last resort when no other economic doors are open. The author shows how support for the film in the community makes the

case that the presumption of the benefits of military service to solve social and emotional problems of minority youth is not just imposed from beyond the community but springs from within the minority communities. The film challenged the mainstream idea that Puerto Ricans were "delinquent citizens" (78) and somehow less American than other American citizens.

Chapter 3 analyzes the "racial democracy" that Latin Americans feel their countries exhibit and how it contrasts with that the culture of African American aggression, anger, and "complaining." On the other hand, Brazilian women celebrate their culture's "playfulness" and "joy de vivre." Brazilians believe the anger of black Americans indicates the failure of the racial system in the United States.

The discussion of the belief that Brazilian women are so attractive that they incite jealousy continues in chapter 4, as Ramos-Zayas explains that Portuguese, African American, and Latin American women are sometimes fearful the Brazilian women will steal their husbands or boyfriends. The author argues that the neoliberal economy produces sexualized gender and racial stereotyping. Brazilians were thought to dress revealingly because they came from a "hot climate." Racial stereotypes of the beauty of Brazilian women led Latinos, African Americans, and whites to associate Brazilian women with the rise of the sex work industry in Newark and produced fissures within the Latin American community.

Chapter 5 begins with a story of African American lesbian women attempting to assault a Latina and analyzes female aggression among Puerto Ricans and African Americans. Latinas perceive black lesbian women as masculine and aggressive in Newark, which Ramos-Zayas says arises from Latina perception of African American female jealousy of Latinas' beauty. which supposedly attracts both African American male and lesbian attention. The chapter moves to discuss Latina attitudes toward homosexuality and concludes with a discussion of the 2007 "execution-style" murder of four black college students by Latin Americans in Newark. The author discusses how anti-African American and anti-immigrant views and prejudice toward gays were shaped by elite efforts to redevelop Newark's downtown.

Chapter 6 analyzes how some immigrants adopt a withdrawn personality on the streets as a form of Americanization, as the green-horn immigrant is transformed into a street-wise urban resident, as a complement to the docile affect they present in work situations. Latinos observe how African Americans present themselves in school and on the streets, and because they become fearful of African American aggression, they change their personality to project toughness. This new sullen, withdrawn personality is viewed as part of Latin American migrants' Americanization in which they projected "urban competency" or sophistication. Latinos who observe this change in personality became "street therapists" as they watch and interpret black and Latino emotions.

The author begins the conclusion by analyzing a help wanted sign in an Ecuadorian restaurant: "Seeking a waitress with good appearance" (buena presencia). That sign, the author states, "suggests that a good worker in the United States is someone who possesses a fine-tuned, calibrated emotional style that navigated 'docility' and non-aggressiveness [sic], while also embracing cosmopolitanism and savvyness" (319). Such an interpretation of one sign indicates that a major problem with the book is analytical overreach.

The social and economic interaction of minority groups in an American city is a subject of great importance and interest. Unfortunately the settings of the study-schools, work places, and public spaces, create a limitation. Readers will question the author's assertion that the emotional interaction between African Americans and Latinos was generally negative. Had the author studied different social situations, she might have found more positive interactions between Latinos and African Americans, for example, in nonprofit or neighborhood/community organizations, churches, sports clubs, and political organizations. It's also unclear how the history of the Chicano and Puerto Rican movements that made demands on urban governments and increased political representation among Latinos could exist alongside a belief that African Americans are too demanding and resentful and complain too much about racism. Many Latinos learned from the African American civil rights movement, respected the demands African Americans made, and seek to emulate those political organizations in pursuit of an equal share of political power in the city.

It's difficult to discern for whom this book is written or which readers will find it useful. Certainly undergraduates will find the prose of the book confusing. But graduate students and faculty will also wrestle with the difficult prose and numerous tangents as Ramos-Zayas struggles to link disparate data and produces more and more complex levels of interpre-

tation and argumentation. However, the quantity and diversity of the ethnographic data is quite impressive. Unfortunately, the presentation of the material produces more confusion than clarity. The most lucid passages are the descriptions of the city's history, neighborhood scenes, and the author's interviews with residents without trying to fit that data into an analytical straitjacket.

> Joseph A. Rodriguez University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin. By Christopher Klemek. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pp. 328. \$40.00 (cloth); \$25.00 (paper).

The world is rapidly urbanizing. In 1900, just 13 percent of the world's population lived in towns and cities; today, over half resides in urban areas, and this figure is projected to rise to nearly 70 percent by 2050. In the United States and much of Northern Europe, urbanization rapidly increased with industrialization in the second half of the nineteenth century, and urbanization and immigration continued to drive urban economies and inform urban growth. About a century later, economic shifts led many cities to become increasingly deindustrialized, often shrinking as their economies became more centrally organized around an expanded service sector. In many of the burgeoning megacities of the global south, similar processes of industrialization are contributing to rapid urban growth and economic development, as well as a range of urban challenges.

Indeed, while cities are places of promise and innovation, creativity and exchange, economic development and growth, they are also the sites of major social problems: from poverty and inequality, to violence and crime, to environmental degradation and distress. In some cases, for example, urban in-migration catalyzes the growth of large, dense, informal settlements on the fringes of central cities or in their midst; in others, development leads to gentrification of central-city areas and displacement of the poor. These population shifts also engender increased or shifting concentrations of poverty, emerging public health concerns, growing inequalities in wealth and income, and resulting social disparities, especially in health and education. Both urban growth driven by industrialization and urban decline associated with deindustrialization and out-migration have contributed to a set of social problems in cities, catalyzing in turn a range of policy responses. These changes to policy are at times ambitious and overarching, at times more piecemeal, and at times characterized more by resignation and neglect than positive intent.

In The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal, Christopher Klemek charts the rise and rapid fall of what was perhaps the most ambitious period of planned urban reform in North America and Western Europe in the twentieth century, the large-scale effort to address urban blight and remake the industrial city after World War II. Klemek focuses on the influences and activities of what he frames as the urban renewal "regime" (10), the confluence of a set of key ideas and actors that drove urban policy and urban change agendas during this period. The critical ideas include, in particular, social democratic liberalism (and its belief in the application of scientific expertise to address social problems) and modernism (especially the functionalist arguments lying behind modernist design). The actors include alliances formed among policy makers, architects, planners, and policy-oriented social scientists who, through the development of comprehensive plans, the promotion of rational city planning and a modernist aesthetic, and the framing of public policies and administrative apparatus, focused on boldly remaking the urban landscape in an effort to realize a "totalizing new order" in place of the "chaos" of the inner city (3, quoting Robert Fishman, "The Mumford-Jacobs Debate," Planning History Studies 10, nos. 1-2 [1996]: 3-11).

The book follows the emergence and transnational exchange of both ideas and actors in shaping urban renewal processes, focusing in particular on New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Berlin, London, and Toronto. It charts the increasingly virulent reaction to, and the political mobilization and protest against, urban renewal orthodoxy and the orientations of modernist planning and their focus on slum clearance; wholesale redevelopment; unitary and functionalist design; and the displacement, relocation, functional segregation, and deconcentration that they supported. In doing so, the book focuses on both the shifting orthodoxies and debates among professional designers (architects, planners, critics) and the complex dynamics of urban politics from national policy making to local regimes. It seeks to tease out the relationship among intellectual influences, key actors, and the dynamic processes that drove both the remarkable

convergence of urban renewal frameworks and projects across contexts and their ultimate demise. To make this case, Klemek draws on a broad range of both secondary sources and primary historical documents, from modernist design manifestos to trade publication debates to policy documents and personal correspondence. He also provides visual documentation (design illustrations, photos, brochures, maps, and models) to enhance and support this complex narrative.

The book is organized into four major parts. Part 1 explores the emergence of comprehensive planning and modernist design in the interwar years, particularly as it developed in Germany and was disseminated and taken up in the United Kingdom in the aftermath of World War II. Modernism's broadening influence and consolidation took solid hold of urban reform efforts on both sides of the Atlantic by midcentury as several developments converged: the rising prominence of professionalized planning, the establishment and institutionalization of modernist design, its adoption in the postwar West, and large-scale urban development policies in response to postwar housing shortages. In the United States, developments also included the relocation of leading modernists-in-exile from wartime Europe (such as Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe), along with the rise of urban studies programs and scholars, and the first concerted federal urban policy in response to the challenges of the Depression, the war, and postwar economic expansion.

Part 2 details the mounting critiques of the "urban renewal order" (79) that came directly on the heels of its rapid ascendance (and grew to particular strength in the 1960s) from aesthetic, sociological, and democratic praxis perspectives. Aesthetically, there was a backlash against the totalizing, functionalist orientation of modernist planning toward the championing of an urban vernacular; of mixed-use, pedestrian-friendly, organic design; and of balancing preservation with integrated, in-fill development. The sociological critique focused on the human costs of urban renewal, the dislocation and loss of community it engendered, and the ways in which it undercut promotion of the public sphere, undermined informal social interaction, and promoted gentrification and spatial stratification. Politically, the technocratic, authoritarian implementation of urban renewal plans led to both explicit protest and calls for democratizing the planning process in ways that ensured that the voice of those most directly affected by development plans be taken into account in meaningful ways.

Part 3 continues to chart the reaction against modernist urban renewal schemes by examining the role of public protest, grassroots organizing, and legal challenges as they played out particularly in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom in the 1960s and 1970s. Jane Jacobs, introduced in earlier chapters through an analysis of the critiques presented by and establishment reaction to her influential book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, played a central role in spearheading anti-expressway and anti-slum clearance efforts in New York City. Later, she participated in the anti-renewal movement in Toronto, where she lived from 1968 until her death in 2006. In the United Kingdom, citizen opposition promoted a shift toward preservation and away from large-scale slum clearance but not before urban renewal schemes led to the construction of large-scale, tower-block public housing in a number of cities, as in the United States. Where they continue to exist, these are perhaps the most palpable remaining emblems of the failures of urban renewal.

Part 4 provides a narrative of the effects and the conflicts generated by urban renewal, particularly in the United States, and how that experience compared with the "softer landings" (217) experienced in other countries. Ironically, the liberal faith in rational intervention supported by the state and informed by sound social scientific analysis undergirding hopes of urban renewal led to both abandonment by its early promoters, who embraced an increasingly neoconservative orientation to the "urban crisis" (179), and an assault by New Left and grassroots activists focused on advocacy planning and smaller-scale, citizen-led planning that embraced the "messy vitality" (214) of the city. The result in the United States was an essential withdrawal of the state from efforts to address urban problems, a reduction of urban renewal funding, the dismantling of the programs of the Great Society, and a turn to decentralized, market-oriented efforts that continue to dominate the policy agenda to this day. The United Kingdom experienced a similar trajectory, with a political swing to the right and abandonment of the possibility for effective urban reform. The aftermath of urban renewal was somewhat different in Germany and Canada. Germany had a relatively higher level of support for modernist design than the other countries and a more flexible, adaptable stance in the professional planning field. Germany therefore made early and active efforts to incorporate citizen participation into planning processes, which combined preservation instincts with more stepwise redevelopment activities. In Toronto, a civic reform movement embraced and institutionalized "New Left

urbanism" (179), which was adapted by serial municipal administrations and directly embraced activists like Jane Jacobs in an insider role.

The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal is both an intellectual history and a story of political contestation. It is complexly rendered and draws on a detailed analysis of events, the contributions of influential actors like architects, planners, social scientists, critics, activists, politicians, policy entrepreneurs, and a set of nuanced debates and shifting historical contexts that conditioned the adoption and demise of modernist urban renewal schemes. The book details the limits of planning and reform expectations based on environmental determinism; charts the emergence of new, participatory orientations to planning; and interrogates the necessary (and often problematic) relationship between planning and implementation of urban reform and different orientations to urban democratic action. This rich story is a relevant one as we work through a new era of urban reform. Massive urban restructuring processes are underway in the burgeoning cities of the developing world, from Shanghai to Sao Paolo and Mumbai to Medellin. In some cases, like Mumbai, this entails large-scale slum clearance and relocation efforts that resemble the razing of whole neighborhoods and the development of social housing that took place under urban renewal in the West half a century ago. In many cities in the United States and Western Europe, these same public housing complexes are undergoing major restructuring, in some cases including wholesale demolition and redevelopment that, if not quite on the scale of the earlier slum-clearance efforts, still represent significant efforts to remake the urban environment. This time these efforts are focused on integration and poverty deconcentration, on promoting social mixing and economic diversity, and are guided not by a modernist aesthetic but by New Urbanist principles grounded in the critiques of modernism made famous by Jane Jacobs. New Urbanist principles, however, are often selectively applied, with only a limited embrace of or ritual compliance to principles of participatory planning. For example, there is more emphasis on defensible space than on diversity of use and on private environments than on public space. In the context of these new reforms, the lessons of the last round of urban renewal are well worth noting.

> Robert Chaskin University of Chicago

Piety and Public Funding: Evangelicals and the State in Modern America. By Axel R. Schäfer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. Pp. 288. \$45 (cloth).

Much is already written about the political rise of Evangelical Christians in America over the past 30 years. Scant scholarly attention, however, has been paid to the contradiction at the heart of the evangelicals' rise: how is it that a movement marked by its distrust of government grew into a dominant force in public affairs through unquestionably statist means? From supporting the centralization of a range of public services, to lobbying for and receiving publicly funded grants and contracts, to pursuing policy changes through the court system, Evangelical Christians have deftly married God and government in their bid to remake America. In *Piety and Public Funding*, Axel R. Schäfer unravels this heretofore unexamined contradiction with scholarly rigor, offering a clear and insightful analysis of the growth of conservative Evangelical Christian churches and organizations and their alignment with the political right in the United States.

Schäfer recounts how political and religious conservatives found common cause and built an alliance that evolved over the years into the robust force it is today. He convincingly shows that the different streams of American conservatism found a unifying principle in subsidiarity, the belief that the smallest unit of organization is the most effective in service provision. The principle of subsidiarity served as the ideological impetus for a growing social and moral voice for the right's political philosophy of small, unobtrusive government and the primacy of individual liberty. And the vehicle for delivering this political philosophy was the mainstreaming of support for the religious right's theology of a Christ-centered private and public life.

Schäfer adeptly demonstrates how the power of political and religious conservatives grew through the employment of statist mechanisms. Conservative forces not only provided religiously based social services in order to obtain an increasing amount of government funds, they also followed the well-worn Washington path of centralization, establishing footholds in the capital through nonprofit organizations like Focus on the Family and the National Association of Evangelicals. These hybrid religious-political institutions, along with like-minded think tanks such as the Heritage

Foundation and the Center for Public Justice, served as a powerful conservative voice in Washington for millions of evangelicals.

These institutions, as Schäfer notes, have served as intellectual training grounds for meshing conservative political ideas with evangelical practices into public policy, as well as soapboxes from which to proclaim their narrative of the causes of and solutions to the many social problems ailing America. This successful formula for wedding the interests of two pillars of the conservative movement based on the belief that the smallest unit of organization is the most effective became centralized over the years, to the benefit and agreement of political and evangelical conservatives alike.

National conservative organizations could count on millions of supporters making small donations, as well as the more substantial financial backing of conservative philanthropies. Agenda-driven think tanks produced credentialed scholars, increasing conservative religious and political forces' access to politicians and upping their national media exposure. The centralization of the movement also groomed teams of skilled lawyers who toiled for a conservative religious and political agenda through litigation.

Schäfer dissects these and other major trends in government welfare polices over the past 75 years, from the New Deal through the younger President Bush's Faith-Based Initiative. It makes for an informative and insightful overview, and Piety and Public Funding unquestionably adds to the body of scholarship in this vastly understudied area of policy. Perhaps the only point on which Piety and Public Funding falls short is in capturing the subtle nuances of social welfare policy that are often apparent only to those involved at the ground level. This is a reflection not of any scholarly shortcoming on Schäfer's part but rather of the fact that social welfare policy, when put into practice, does not always fit neatly into theoretical frameworks. For more than 30 years, my research into the growth of faith-based social services in America has been based as much in the community as on campus. And time and time again, I have encountered developments that defy easy categorization. Two examples in particular stand out.

During the 1980s and 1990s, I trained the Salvation Army's North Carolina and South Carolina divisions in how to partner effectively with local public and private agencies whose operations had been disrupted by the ill-planned budget cuts of the Reagan administration. The policies at the time caused unnecessary chaos for local service providers, wasting millions of man and woman hours nationally on reconfiguring local service systems at the expense of providing actual services. During those years, I worked closely on a research project with a major at the Salvation Army's headquarters in Alexandria, Virginia. "You know what we think about tainted money?" the major once quipped to me, "T'aint enough of it!"

That is hardly to suggest that the Salvation Army was or is a corrupt organization. Rather, it exemplifies the on-the-ground reality that the Salvation Army has been around long enough to smartly go with the flow of whoever is in power politically and to not expend too much ideological thought on where its funds come from. As it has been told of General William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, upon being chastened for seeking support in the pubs of London's East End, better that money be spent doing the Lord's work than that of the devil. At the same time, soldiers and officers in the Salvation Army have in both word and deed remained accountable to God and for the most part adhered to local community standards.

Simply put, even an analysis as well constructed as Schäfer's would have a difficult time neatly addressing the Salvation Army's role in social policy. Among other issues, the evangelical beliefs and the principle of subsidiarity that shape that role are a challenge to characterize in their full complexity. Also problematic for any analysis is that in some quarters of the conservative movement, the Salvation Army's methods have led to it being critically cast in the same light as mainline Catholics, Lutherans, Jews, and other religious movements perceived to be guided by liberal statist beliefs.

Equally difficult to analyze through any single theoretical framework are the developments I observed during the late 1990s at Catholic Charities USA, the giant nationwide network of social service organizations. In 1995 and 1996, I worked with Catholic Charities leaders on "Visions 2000," a comprehensive planning process for how the network of agencies ought to position itself at the dawn of the new millennium. The overarching concern at Catholic Charities was how to keep their faith tradition alive in America, while continuing to provide effective services in an increasingly competitive funding environment that was being fundamentally reshaped by welfare reform. There was less money to go around, and government funding, which had accounted for the bulk of many Catholic

service agencies' budgets, was increasingly going to social service providers operating under the religious conservative flag.

What I saw at Catholic Charities back then were agency leaders trying to creatively do more with less, in order for the agency and those across America that supported it to continue their mission and stay true to their faith. When the new millennium arrived, however, Catholic Charities found itself on the outside looking in during the planning stages of what would become the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, the Bush administration effort that redrew the landscape of social service provision by religious agencies. The explanation for the sidelining of one of the country's largest charities, as offered by the editor of the in-house magazine at the conservative Manhattan Institute in an article headlined "How Catholic Charities Lost Its Soul," is telling: "Catholic Charities . . . has become over the last three decades an arm of the welfare state" (Brian C. Anderson, "How Catholic Charities Lost Its Soul," City Journal 10, no. 1 [2000]).

The irony inherent in the conservative swipe at Catholic Charities underscores just how difficult it is to construct a theoretical framework that accurately captures the many nuances of social service provision and the policy making that shapes it. In the eyes of the Manhattan Institute and other like-minded conservatives, Catholic Charities had sold out its faith by engaging in the type of godless and statist subsidiarity practiced by liberals. That such practices would disqualify Catholic Charities from helping to shape the Faith-Based Initiative, which, on a fundamental level, was guided by the very same principle of subsidiarity, is a reality that hardly fits neatly into any analysis, even one as compelling as Schäfer's. And equally tricky for any scholar to explain is how, a decade after being shut out of planning for the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, Catholic Charities was receiving nearly \$3 billion annually in government funds, with the vast majority of the money coming through the very same faith-based initiative.

While such nuances rarely lend themselves to straightforward explanations, Piety and Public Funding comes admirably close, laying out a thoughtful, precise, and insightful overview of the political growth of conservative Evangelical Christians in America. Schäfer tackles head-on the important intricacies at the intersection of policy, religion, and social services, skillfully and accurately fleshing them out in a compelling and

well-written analysis. His scholarship is excellent, but it is only a very good overview of a story that is far more complex, and about which much remains to be written.

> Robert J. Wineburg University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Brief Notices

NEW AND UPCOMING TITLES OF INTEREST TO SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL WELFARE SCHOLARS

Coming of Political Age: American Schools and the Civic Development of Immigrant Youth. By Rebecca M. Callahan and Chandra Muller. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2013. Pp. 186. \$27.50 (paper).

Compassionate Confinement: A Year in the Life of Unit C. By Laura S. Abrams and Ben Anderson-Nathe. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012. Pp. 188. \$69.00 (cloth); \$23.95 (paper).

Driven from New Orleans: How Nonprofits Betray Public Housing and Promote Privatization. By John Arena. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012. Pp. 344. \$82.50 (cloth); \$27.50 (paper).

Everyday Ethics: Voices from the Front Line of Community Psychiatry. By Paul Brodwin. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013. Pp. 248. \$65.00 (cloth); \$29.95 (paper).

Falling Back: Incarceration and Transitions to Adulthood among Urban Youth. By Jamie J. Fader. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2013. Pp. 278. \$75.00 (cloth); \$27.95 (paper).

Homeless: Poverty and Place in Urban America. By Ella Howard. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. Pp. 288. \$45.00 (cloth).

Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism. Edited by Carol Williams. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2012. Pp. 320. \$90.00 (cloth); \$28.00 (paper).

Land of the Cosmic Race: Race Mixture, Racism, and Blackness in Mexico. By Christina A. Sue. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. 256. \$24.95 (paper).

Not Just Roommates: Cohabitation after the Sexual Revolution. By Elizabeth H. Pleck. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pp. 320. \$85.00 (cloth); \$27.50 (paper).

Occupational Labor Shortages: Concepts, Causes, Consequences, and Cures. By Burt S. Barnow, John Trutko, and Jaclyn Schede Piatak. Kalamazoo, MI: W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 2013. Pp. 209. \$40.00 (cloth); \$20.00 (paper).

The Other Welfare: Supplemental Security Income and U.S. Social Policy. By Edward D. Berkowitz and Larry DeWitt. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013. Pp. 288. \$45.00 (cloth).

Producing and Negotiating Non-citizenship: Precarious Legal Status in Canada. Edited by Luin Goldring and Patricia Landolt. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013. Pp. 400. \$80.00 (cloth); \$34.95 (paper).

Protecting Children in the Age of Outrage: A New Perspective on Child Protective Services Reform. By Radha Jagannathan and Michael J. Camasso. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. 272. \$49.95 (cloth).

Public Capital, Growth, and Welfare: Analytical Foundations for Public Policy. By Pierre-Richard Agénor. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013. Pp. 280. \$39.50 (cloth).

Rethinking Workplace Regulation: Beyond the Standard Contract of Employment. Edited by Katherine V. W. Stone and Harry Arthurs. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2013.

The Rise of Women: The Growing Gender Gap in Education and What It Means for American Schools. By Thomas A. DiPrete and Claudia Buchmann. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2013. Pp. 296. \$37.50 (paper).

The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School. By Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013. Pp. 352. \$75.00 (cloth); \$25.00 (paper).

A Theory of Fields. By Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. 256. \$29.95 (cloth).

Why Growth Matters: How Economic Growth in India Reduced Poverty and the Lessons for Other Developing Countries. By Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya. New York: Public Affairs, 2013. Pp. 304. \$28.99 (cloth).

ERRATUM

Because of an editing error, the proportions for several variables were misrepresented in table 1 of Daniel P. Miller and Ronald B. Mincy's contribution, "Falling Further Behind? Child Support Arrears and Fathers' Labor Force Participation" (*Social Service Review* 86, no. 4 [2012]: 613). The corrected table is presented with this note, and the editors deeply regret the error.

TABLE 1. Summary Statistics for Main Independent and Dependent Variables

Variable Name	Mean or Proportion	SD	Min	Max
Formal labor-force participation:				
Father worked past 12 months:				
3 year	.86		0	1
5 year	.84		0	1
Avg. hours per week:				
3 year	40.11	21.31	0	120
5 year	39.70	22.40	0	120
Avg. hours per week (if worked):				
3 year	46.82	14.69	1	120
5 year	47.43	15.27	1	120
Weeks per year:				
3 year	37.98	20.06	0	52
5 year	36.78	20.89	0	52
Weeks per year (if worked):				
3 year	44.34	13.70	1	52
5 year	43.94	14.38	1	52
Informal labor-force participation:				
Father worked past 12 months:				
3 year	.28		0	1
5 year	.19		0	1
Avg. hours per week:				
3 year	7.21	16.55	0	160
5 year	4.69	15.31	0	190

TABLE 1. (continued)

Variable Name	Mean or Proportion	SD	Min	Max
Avg. hours per week (if worked):				
3 year	25.42	22.42	1	160
5 year	24.07	27.14	1	190
Avg. weeks worked:			,	150
3 year	1.34	3.59	0	39
5 year	1.35	4.16	0	37.33
Avg. weeks worked (if worked):		.,,0		37.33
3 year	4.73	5.42	.25	39
5 year	6.94	7.06	.33	37,33
Arrears variables:		,,,,,	.00	37.00
Father in arrears 1 year	.05		0	7
Father in arrears 3 year	.11		0	1
All formal income:				·
1 year	33,587.6	71,277.45	0	3,111,638
3 year	30,338.8	33,232.46	0	246,251.8
Ratio of arrears to income 1 year:a				,
No arrears (omitted; proportion is .95)	0		0	0
>0 and ≤.50 (proportion is .03)	2,181.19	3,219.56	.01	19,700.15
>.50 and ≤1.00 (proportion is .004)	10,750.10	7,378.49	.57	19,700.15
>1.00 and no income (proportion is .008)	5,257.40	6,211.46	2.03	19,700.15
>1.00 and any income (proportion is .006)	10,595.48	7,462.96	315.29	19,700.15
Ratio of arrears to income 3 year:				
No arrears (omitted; proportion is .89)	0		0	0
>0 and ≤.50 (proportion is .07)	3,018.33	3,237.33	1.23	30,812.26
>.50 and ≤1.00 (proportion is .01)	6,114.10	5,027.77	421.18	30,812.26
>1.00 and no income (proportion is .02)	4,440.71	4,684.19	5.75	30,812.26
>1.00 and any income (proportion is .01)	8,582.68	8,114.14	237.02	30,812.26

Note.—SD = standard deviation; Min = minimum; Max = Maximum; avg. = average.

^a Mean, SD, Min, and Max refer to the amount of arrears in dollars for each category of the ratio of arrears to income. All dollar figures are presented in 2010 constant dollars.

Information for Authors

Founded in 1927, *Social Service Review* is devoted to the publication of thought-provoking, original research on social welfare policy, organization, and practice. Articles in the *Review* analyze issues from the points of view of various disciplines, theories, and methodological traditions, view critical problems in context, and carefully consider long-range solutions.

The *Review* features balanced, scholarly contributions from social work and social welfare scholars as well as from members of the various allied disciplines engaged in research on human behavior, social systems, history, public policy, and social services. The journal welcomes contributions on a wide range of topics, such as child welfare, poverty, homelessness, community intervention, race and ethnicity, clinical practice, and mental health. The *Review* also features discerning essays and substantive, critical book reviews.

Social Service Review is edited by Michael R. Sosin and the faculty of the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago.

PREPARING A MANUSCRIPT FOR SUBMISSION

Social Service Review does not publish and will not review works published previously or under consideration for publication elsewhere. The Review does not impose page limits but requires authors to present their work directly and concisely. Editorial efforts to conserve space are directly related to manuscript length and to the conciseness of the argument presented. The journal will review articles formatted in any style but requires accepted manuscripts to meet the journal's style. For a guide to the journal's policy, style, and editorial process, see http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/page/ssr/instruct.html.

Please prepare submissions according to the following guidelines:

Double-space the manuscript, setting 1-inch margins; use 12-point Times New Roman font.

Ensure that the title page includes only the title (i.e., does not identify the authors).

Provide an abstract of fewer than 150 words.

Ensure that no element in the manuscript jeopardizes the anonymity of the review process.

If submitting the manuscript electronically, please ensure that the file is formatted in Microsoft Word, Corel WordPerfect, or Adobe PDF format.

Figures, tables, and artwork may be submitted in other formats, but the journal reserves the right to request printed or reformatted copies.

Gather materials needed for submission:

The names, affiliations, and contact information (postal and e-mail addresses) for each author

Five printed copies or one electronic copy (if submitting by e-mail) of the manuscript

SUBMITTING A MANUSCRIPT

If Submitting Electronically

Prepare an e-mail message that provides the names, affiliations, and contact information (postal and e-mail addresses) for each author.

In the message, acknowledge that the submission has not been published previously and is not being considered for publication elsewhere.

Attach an electronic copy of the manuscript to the message.

Send the message and attached manuscript to the journal office at ssr@uchicago.edu.

If Submitting Printed Copies

Provide a cover letter that includes the title of the work, as well as the name, affiliation, and contact information (postal and e-mail addresses) for each author.

In the cover letter, acknowledge that the submission has not been published previously and is not being considered for publication elsewhere.

Send five printed copies of the manuscript to the Editor, *Social Service Review*, 969 East 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637.

American Journal of Sociology

A leading voice for analysis and research in the social sciences

Established in 1895 as the first U.S. scholarly journal in its field, American Journal of Sociology presents pathbreaking work from all areas of sociology, with an emphasis on theory building and innovative methods. AJS strives to speak to the general sociology reader and is open to sociologically informed contributions from anthropologists, statisticians, economists, educators, historians, and political scientists. AJS prizes research that offers new ways of understanding the social.

Audience

Sociologists and social scientists more generally interested in social phenomena, including specialists in ethnic and urban studies, public policy, education, and the study of markets



Editor: Andrew Abbott

6 issues/year ISSN: 0002-9602 E-ISSN: 1537-5390

2013 Individual Subscription Rates:

Electronic + Print, \$66 Electronic-only, \$60 Print-only, \$61

ASA/BSA Member (Electronic + Print), \$46 Student (Electronic-only), \$33

To Subscribe:

Online: www.journals.uchicago.edu/AJS Phone: 1 (877) 705-1878 (U.S. & Canada, toll-free) 1 [773] 753-3347 (International)

Individual Subscription Rates valid through December 31, 2013. Additional shipping and taxes applied to international orders.



Economic Development and Cultural Change

A multidisciplinary journal

Economic Development and Cultural Change publishes studies that use modern theoretical and empirical approaches to examine both determinants and effects of various dimensions of economic development and cultural change.

EDCC's focus is on empirical papers with analytic underpinnings, concentrating on micro-level evidence, that use appropriate data to test theoretical models and explore policy impacts related to a broad range of topics within economic development.

Audience

Economists and social science researchers focusing on developing countries.



Editors: John Strauss

Four issues/year ISSN: 0013-0079 E-ISSN: 1539-2988

2013 Individual Subscription Rates:

Electronic + Print, \$74 Electronic Only, \$66 Print Only, \$67 Student (Electronic Only), \$37

To Subscribe:

Online: www.journals.uchicago.edu/EDCC Phone: 1 (877) 705-1878 (U.S. & Canada, toll-free) 1 (773) 753-3347 (International)

Individual subscription rates valid through December 31, 2013. Additional shipping and taxes applied to international orders.



The Childhood Series

from P P POLICY PRESS

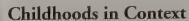
Local Childhoods, Global Issues

Second Edition

Edited by Heather Montgomery

"Indispensable. . . . Beautifully presented and clearly written, it offers a compelling and realistic portrait of children's lives and the many challenges they face across the globe."—Jo Boyden, University of Oxford

Paper \$38.95



Second Edition

Edited by Alison Clark

"It draws attention to children's identities as relational and connected to places. It is highly inspiring and will be of great interest to a wide audience."—Anne Trine Kjorholt, Norwegian Centre for Child Research Paper \$38.95

Understanding Childhood

A Cross-Disciplinary Approach Second Edition

Edited by Mary Jane Kehily

"Understanding Childhood brings together leading figures across the field and sets out, from a range of disciplinary perspectives, some of the central issues facing research on children and childhood."—David Oswell, Goldsmiths, University of London

Paper \$38.95



Childhoods in context

Children and Young People's Cultural Worlds

Second Edition

Edited by Sara Bragg and Mary Jane Kehily

"Bragg and Kehily's collection is a definitive, comprehensive text, written by a group of leading scholars: it will be of value to anyone seeking an authoritative, up-to-the-minute introduction to the field."—David Buckingham, Loughborough University, UK

Paper \$38.95

Distributed by the University of Chicago Press

mmunity Practice





International Community Organising

Taking Power, Making Change Dave Beck and Rod Purcell

This book is the first to explore the diverse history of community organizing, telling stories of its successes and failures and uncovering the lessons that can be applied today.

Paper \$39.95

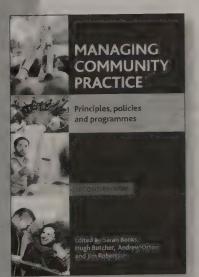
Rethinking Community Practice

Developing Transformative Neighbourhoods Gabriel Chanan and Colin Miller

"This book pushes all the right buttons. It draws upon the authors' extensive contributions to thinking about the theory and implementation of neighbourhood community practice. Their resulting model makes a major contribution to contemporary debates. Highly recommended!"—Hugh Butcher, coeditor of Critical Community Practice

Paper \$36.95





Managing Community Practice

Principles, Policies and Programmes Second Edition

Edited by Sarah Banks, Hugh Butcher, Andrew Orton, and Jim Robertson

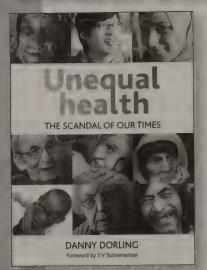
"The book is for managers and practitioners and helps understand 'going local' and how it will help reshape organisations as they redirect their energies toward providing neighbourhood-based services.'

-Community Care, on the first edition

Paper \$39.95

Distributed by the University of Chicago Press

Health Care



from PP POLICY PRESS

Unequal Health

The Scandal of Our Times

Danny Dorling

With a Foreword by S. V. Subramanian

"The breadth and depth of scholarship displayed in this book is staggering—but what impresses just as much is how engagingly Danny Dorling communicates the important truths about the scandal of our times."

—Kate Pickett, University of York

Paper \$42.95

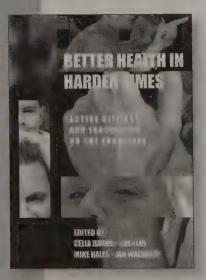
People-Centred Public Health

Jane South, Judy White, and Mark Gamsu

"Acknowledging citizens are part of the solution, not the problem, could lead to a twenty-first century flourishing of Public Health as important as the first one in the nineteenth century."—Trevor Hopkins, Asset Based Consulting and Co-author of A Glass Half-Full

Paper \$42.95





Better Health in Harder Times

Active Citizens and Innovation on the Frontline

Edited by Celia Davies, Ray Flux, Mike Hales, and Jan Walmsley

"A wealth of fascinating and insightful reflections on the relationship between people and their healthcare."

—Sally Brearley, Kingston University and St Georges, University of London

Paper \$39.95

Distributed by the University of Chicago Press

Social Work and Theory



SOCIAL
WORKERS
AFFECTING
SOCIAL POLICY

An international perspective

Edited by John Gal and Idit Weiss-Gal

from PP POLICY PRESS

Social Workers Affecting Social Policy

An International Perspective

Edited by John Gal and Idit Weiss-Gal

"Original, topical, and informative. . . . For anyone wanting a book on social work policy practice in different countries, this will be the one."—Jonathan Dickens, University of East Anglia

Cloth \$89.95

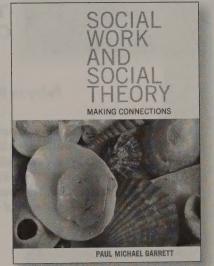
Social Work and Social Theory

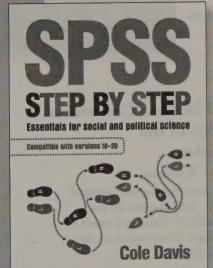
Making Connections

Paul Michael Garrett

"This book is essential reading for those wanting a more radical/critical social work."—Community Care

Paper \$39.95





SPSS Step by Step

Essentials for Social and Political Science

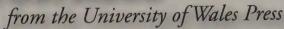
Cole Davis

"This book is an easy and informative read—an excellent introduction to SPSS for the novice, and a handy reference guide for more experienced users who need to refresh their memories."—Helen Kara, University of Birmingham

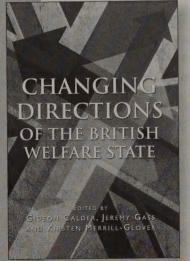
Paper \$29.95

Distributed by the University of Chicago Press

Social Services







Changing Directions of the British Welfare State

Edited by Gideon Calder, Jeremy Gass, and Kirsten Merrill-Glover

With a Foreword by Huw Edwards

"The combination of its grounding in the specific context of Wales on the one hand and its wide range of topics on the other gives this volume a unique and valuable perspective."

—Fran Bennett, University of Oxford

Cloth \$135.00

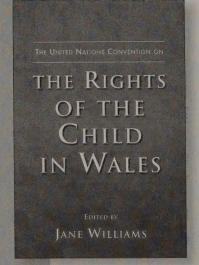
Transforming Childcare and Listening to Families

Policy in Wales and Beyond Wendy Ball

This book draws on original research to consider the connections between childcare, family lives, and social policy. Ball identifies a significant gap between what matters to parents and what is currently being offered in policy and service provision.

Paper \$48.00





The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in Wales

Edited by Jane Williams

This collection analyzes the background and effects of the law adopted by the National Assembly of Wales as a result of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Paper \$55.00

Distributed by the University of Chicago Press



